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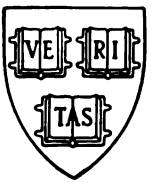
At the back of the black man's mind

Richard Edward Dennett

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MAVUNGU, a Kabenda nail-fetish.

See page 93.

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AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND

Or NOTES ON THE KINGLY OFFICE IN WEST AFRICA

BY

R. E. DENNETT

AUTHOR OF "NOTES ON THE FOLKLORE OF THE FJORT," ETC.

London

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PREFACE

THE object of this little work is twofold. In the first place I wish to show that, concurrent with fetishism or Jujuism, there is in Africa a religion giving us a much higher conception of God than is generally acknowledged by writers on African modes of thought. And, in the second place, I am anxious to make clear the vital importance of the kingly office to the African communities.

This concurrence of fetishism and a higher religion is nothing new, and as our knowledge of primitive and degenerate people increases it will probably be found to be quite common, if not the rule. "Traces of ancestor worship and fetishism have in all ages been found among the Israelites, especially among those of the northern kingdom; this is abundantly proved," writes Professor Fr. Hommel in his *Ancient Hebrew Tradition Illustrated by the Monuments*, by various passages in the Old Testament literature, but it is no more an argument against the concurrent existence of a higher conception of the Deity than the numerous superstitious customs and ideas still prevalent among the lower orders of almost every civilised country of the present day are arguments against the existence and practical results of Christianity."

The lasting effect of missionary effort in Africa must depend to a very great extent on the grasp the missionaries are capable of obtaining of this higher conception of God which the natives of Africa in my opinion undoubtedly have, and the use they may make of it in manifesting God to them as

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the one and only true God, and not merely the white man's God.

The work of the government of the natives must also be greatly simplified if once the importance of the kingly office is recognised. Their higher conception of God cannot be separated from the kingly office, for the king is priest as well. Rotten and degenerate as an African kingdom may have become, its only hope of regeneration rests in the purification of the kingly office and of the ancient system of government attached to it. I say ancient advisedly, because it seems to me that during the last few centuries Africa has been having a very bad time of it, and anarchy and usurpation have been busy upsetting older and purer customs. The disorganisation of the indigenous political fabric gives so great an opening for political adventurers of a cunning type to step in that the government of the country through the natives, on so-called native lines, becomes almost an impossibility for a foreign government.

However humble this contribution to the better understanding of the working of the African mind may be, it is hoped that it may be accepted as an attempt to uplift those who are not already above personal and petty prejudices to the possibility of crediting the Africans with thoughts, concerning their religious and political system, comparable to any that may have been handed down to themselves by their own ancestors.

In giving to this work the title of *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, I rather wish to imply that I should like to get there than to assert that I have actually solved all the problems that lie concealed there. If I have not succeeded, at any rate this study of the kingly office in West Africa will at least, I hope, draw attention to this matter and throw so much light upon it as may guide others to more complete success in the near hereafter.

Things are moving now in West Africa, and a greater number of people are taking an intelligent interest in the country since the late Miss M. H. Kingsley's great books first drew crowds of her admirers to study African problems. Miss Kingsley used to say that West Africa wanted adver-

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tising, and she advertised it, and created a public for us. And this should be remembered by those who, coming after her, when our knowledge of the country has ripened, are apt to lay stress upon trivial errors in detail, forgetting the vast amount of general information she gave to the world about the country. How tireless she was in encouraging others less gifted than herself to add their mites of knowledge to her large collection of facts many can testify, the writer among the rest. It is only right and natural, therefore, that he should in the first place wish to record his sense of gratitude to her and her memory.

In the second place he desires to place on record his sense of obligation and thanks to the African Society, the Anthropological Institute, and the Folklore Society for having in the first place published in their journals parts of the following notes, and for now giving him permission to reprint them in book form.

He is also grateful to Mr. Cowan, of the firm of Messrs. A. Miller Brother and Co., and to Dr. A. G. Christian and Mr. M. H. Hughes for allowing him to reproduce many photographs of Benin City and people taken in the first place by them.

Finally, he thanks Mr. N. W. Thomas, the anthropologist (and here his readers will possibly also join him), for having cut out a lot of irrelevant matter and so reduced the present volume to a handy and readable size. When the writer thinks of his patience in wading through the MS., and his forbearance in leaving what remains of it, he feels that nothing that he can say or write will adequately express his gratitude.

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TO MY FATHER

THE REV. R. DENNETT, D.C.L.

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It may happen that we shall have to revise entirely our view of the Black races, and regard those who now exist as the decadent representatives of an almost forgotten era, rather than as the embryonic possibility of an era yet to come.

FLORA L. SHAW, in *A Tropical Dependency.*

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AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND

The frontispiece, "MAVUNGU, a KABENDA NAIL-FETISH," is reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

before it was discovered by Diego Cão, and as part of the Fiote religious system, as we shall learn later on. It must not be supposed that the river was called by this name because the missionaries of old came that way and taught the natives certain trades. The spirits of all rivers in this part of Africa are supposed to teach the Fiote some lesson.

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[2] The proper spelling is Kongo; and this will be adhered to, save in such expressions as Congo Free State, &c., which are fixed by usage.

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AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND

CHAPTER I

LUANGO AND THE BAVILI

Discovery of the Kongo.—Subsequent History.—The Bavili.—Phonetics.—King of Luango.

A FEW NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF LUANGO (NORTHERN PORTION OF KONGO COAST).[1]

WE owe the discovery of the Kongo[2] to the enterprise of Prince Henry the Navigator, fourth son of John I., King of Portugal, and grandson of Edward III., King of England.

Diego Cão, by royal edict dated 14th April, 1484, was commissioned to extend the explorations on the coast of Africa, and he discovered the Kongo River in 1484. The native name for this river is Zaili, Zairi, or Zaidi, and it was so called as being the way of the spirit, or personality of love and knowledge. The name, of course, was given to it long before it was discovered by Diego Cão, and as part of the Fiote religious system, as we shall learn later on. It must not be supposed that the river was called by this name because the missionaries of old came that way and taught the natives certain trades. The spirits of all rivers in this part of Africa are supposed to teach the Fiote some lesson.

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The first expedition arrived at San Salvador in 1491. One hundred years later we have a list of the provinces of the King of Kongo's immediate kingdom, given to us by Pisafetta on the authority of the hermit, Duarte Lopez.

The first mention of Luango is of a comparately late date, *i.e.*, 1663, when Christianity was first brought there by Father Ungaro. The stay of this missionary was quite a short one.

Father Jerome Merolla da Sorrento, 1682, says that he never heard there was any Christian Prince in the kingdom of Angoyo (Kabinda), that country having been always inhabited by a people extremely given to sorcery and magic. But Barbot, who must have touched at Luango about the year 1700, says English was spoken in Kabinda at that time and that the blacks were all Christians.

When the history of Luango and Kakongo by the Abbé Proyart (Paris, 1776), is brought up to date, much use should be made of the old trade books with their accounts of the sale of slaves and trade with the captains of sailing vessels who were in the habit of giving the princes credit and making remarks in these books. Father T. Derouet has collected a great number of facts in this way, and I hope may soon follow up the work of his famous predecessor, thus filling up the interval between the time of the "tree climbing" missionary age and the present—shall we say—intellectual one?

Then the old books of copies of correspondence of the firms of the British African Merchants, Taylor and Laughland, and those of Messrs. Hatton and Cookson, would throw light on the following period, when merchants had settled establishments.

But while missionaries and explorers have come and gone, it is an interesting fact that the only constant associates of the inhabitants of the country during the last century were the traders, so that when Mr. Stanley and M. de Brazza rediscovered and brought these parts once more within history, they found the traders long established.

The history of European political influence on the Kongo does not go back half a century. The most important dates are the following.

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In 1873 the German West African Expedition settled in Chinchonso, a place in the county of Samanu, in the kingdom of Luango.

In spite of the work of Du Chaillu, Bruce Walker, the Marquis de Compiegne, and Monsieur Marche, the Ogowe River remained unknown until in 1874, when M. de Brazza began his interesting labour in that part of Africa.

1875.—In 1875 De Brazza expressed his anxiety to open up the Ogowe.

1877.—In 1877 Stanley arrived in Boma.

1878.—The Comité d'Etudes du Haut Congo was formed in Brussels.

1879-1882—De Brazza's voyage to the Kongo *viâ* the Ogowe to Brazzaville was carried out, and treaties were made with the chiefs of Alima and Ntamo. In 1882 De Brazza declared the only practical route between the coast and Brazzaville to be *viâ* the *Kuilu* River.

1882, November 30th.—The famous Makoko treaty was ratified by the French Parliament.

1883, January 10th.—De Brazza was appointed Commissionnaire du Gouvernement de la République Française in West Africa.

1883.—Return of missionaries to Luango.

1884, April 23rd.—Colonel Strauch, on behalf of the African International Association, gave France the famous "droit du préférence" on the Congo State.

1885, February 5th.—France, by a treaty with the African International Association (nascent Congo State), gave up its pretensions to the left bank of the Lower Kongo, and obtained the cession of the territories Niari Kuilu. February 14th.—Portugal, with the mediation of France, concluded a treaty with the African International Association.

1885, February 26th.—Berlin Act was signed by which the district of "Congo Français" was acknowledged as French.

Since which time this part of Luango under French rule, and no longer managed by its native rulers, has passed through a somewhat troublous time.

The Bavili, or inhabitants of Luango, occupy the coast of

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Africa between the Mayumba river north and that of the Chiluango river south, that is the land about latitude 5°·11′·30″. So far as we know these people have not been subject to any great raids, like those of the Bayaka, or the people of the Congo south of that river. This may be owing to the protection given to them by the belt of forest that divides their country on the east from the country of the Bakunia and Bayaka. There are traditions of wars between the Bavili and Bacoxi, the people of Kakongo, when, they say, the Bavili went in such crowds to Kakongo as to have dried up its rivers in the crossing.

It is only by their Bakici baci (dealt with in Chapter XI.) that traces can be found of the provinces having once been under one King, but the King of Kongo is still looked upon as their spiritual head in a far-off kind of way, and their system of government is the same. Even when the first missionaries made their appearance in Africa, both Kakongo and Luango acted as if they were independent kingdoms.

The BAVILI are part of the FJORT, FIOTI, or FIOTE tribe, which in its turn is a section of the great BANTU race. Although FJORT is the name by which these people of Kongo are undoubtedly known to-day, Consul Roger Casement informs me that that is not the name by which they are called by the people of other tribes in the interior, and the distinguished African trader, Mr. C. Sanders, tells me that the older Portuguese traders informed him some twenty years ago that the word FJORT or FIOTI was simply a corruption of the Portuguese word FILHOTE meaning, as nearly as I can translate the word in English, "young rascal," that is to say the termination OTE gives the word FILHO or son a disparaging sense. If Mr. Sanders is correct then Monseigneur A. H. Carrie's FIOTE is the nearest approach to FILHOTE, the *O* in the Portuguese alphabet having much the same sound given to it by Mr. Bentley in his KONGO alphabet, *i.e.*, as the *O* in the French word corps. If on the other hand the word is a KONGO one (and undoubtedly it is used for the English word "little"), then it *might* be derived from the words FIA or VIA, to plant, and UTA, to bear, meaning the propagator in opposition to VIANGA, the creator.

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In the following pages, to enable the reader to catch the native sounds as nearly as possible the writer will use the vowels as in the Italian, and the consonants as in English, with two exceptions, -AW, *i.e.* for the O sound, as in "corps," and X for the sound TCHI, or Monseigneur Carrie's Ḳ. This X or TCHI sound must not be confused with the SH or X sound of Mr. Bentley. For instance, Mr. Bentley spells ZINA, a name, XINA, but XINA or TCHINA in the BAVILI dialect has the signification of law, a thing forbidden, totem, abomination, while XINA the verb, is to dance. The prefix KI in the Kongo, finds its counterpart in XI (TCHI) in the XIVILI, and this I presume is why Monseigneur Carrie has manufactured the sign Ḳ. We have this TCHI sound very nearly in the English word "church" (XURX) which the Scotch call KIRK, and there being no EKS sound in the XIVILI, and a sign being wanted for the TCHI sound, I think I am right in using the letter X for it rather than the new sign Ḳ.

With these brief introductory remarks we may pass to matters more closely akin to the subject of the book—the kingly office in Luango.

Battell visited Luango in about the year 1603, and for the short time that he was in the province, gathered much information about the King and native customs which stands good even to this day. Among other interesting facts he mentions the name of the last King, *i.e.*, "Gembe" (now written NJIMBI).

MANILUEMBA, the present Maluango elect, about whom we shall have much to say, took the place of MANIPRATI, who was deposed by the people for having killed his own daughter for refusing to cohabit with him. Maniprati had succeeded Mani MAKÃWSO, who was the Maluango elect, and Nganga NVUMBA, when the French first took possession of the country in 1883. The title NGANGA NVUMBA is a priestly one, given to the Maluango elect upon his accession, and one that he retains until the coronation ceremony completes the burial rites of the NTAWTELA or deceased MALUANGO, when he becomes the crowned MALUANGO.

MANIPRATI was the last crowned Maluango, and the

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ZINGANGA NVUMBA preceding him were MANI MAKAWSO MASONGA, MANIMAKAWSO MANAWMBO, MANIMAKAWSO MATUKILA of KONDI, and MAN'ANAWMBO, none of whom were crowned. MANI YAMBI became MALUANGO, as did his predecessors, MANIPUATI of XIBANGA and Maluango TATI of KONDI, who they say succeeded Maluango NJIMBI.

Maluango PRATI is said to have died some fifty-five years ago, so that if this list of rulers be complete, eight of them filled in the time intervening between 1603 and, say, 1860, giving them each an average reign of thirty-two years, and this appears to the writer too great an average, though some native princes reign for a very long time. He is inclined to think that either the list is incomplete or that the NJIMBI referred to by the natives is not the same as the one mentioned by Battell.

The French took Luango in 1883, in MANIMAKAWSO'S time, but they naturally enough, not knowing much of the history of the country, never considered it well to crown him officially. Had they done so and aided him to assert his kingly authority over his provinces and vassals the French to-day would have been in possession of a well-ordered province. As it happened, at the Berlin Conference, 1884, Maluango's rights were ignored, and part of his kingdom added to Portugal, just as part of Kakongo's province was given to the Congo Free State. Then the Government seemed too busy in developing its Upper Ubanghi and Sangha provinces in the direction of the Nile and Lake Chad to devote any serious attention to this part of their rich colony, so that Luango and the Lower Kongo provinces of their enormous possessions have been neglected. After some time they caused MANILUEMBA to be elected, and appeared anxious to administer the country through native channels. In the meantime, however, they had created a class of natives who might be termed "atheist," or who at any rate were "unfaithed," and they, and the general state of anarchy in which the country finds itself, will certainly make the task of the Government no easy one.

Early in 1898, the Administrator summoned Mamboma and the other princes of Luango to the residence, and informed them

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that it was their desire that a Maluango should be crowned, and the native *régime*, under the Government's protection, be restored. The choice of the people fell upon Maniluemba, nephew of Maluango Prati ; and Mamboma and the princes went to him to ask him if he would accept the throne. Hearing of this, I determined, in the interest of Folklore, to go and interview the king-elect.

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CHAPTER II

ELECTION OF A KING IN THE KONGO

My Residence in West Africa.—Journey to Lubu.—The *numbu*-tree.—Meeting with Maniluemba.—His fetishes.—Return journey.—Election of Maluango.

IT is now necessary for me to say something about myself, which may serve as an excuse for my venturing to write at all on the rather complicated problems which in the following chapters I shall endeavour to elucidate.

I commenced studying the natives' habits and custom in the year 1879, and, after some eleven or twelve years, had progressed so far as to perceive, first, that there was still much to learn, and, secondly, that I should only be able to learn that if I could confine my studies to a definite section of the Bantu people and become very intimate with them. Thus far I had picked up scraps of information about the people in the Kongo and south of it; for the future it seemed as if the rest of my life were to be spent in Luango among the Bavili people. I restarted my studies then about the year 1892, and in the year 1897, by the help of the Folklore Society, published *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*. Then I was fortunate enough to meet with some very intelligent natives who were willing to help me in these studies on the Bavili, among whom was Maniluemba, the King-elect of Luango, and the following pages are the result.

At the time of his election I was in Luango; and to see him I had to proceed to Ndembuano.

Turning my back on the sea I first made my way to Lubu, or Mamboma's town. Here on a hill facing the Roman

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Catholic Sisters' Mission, stand two mighty baobab trees (*nkondo*). When the people of Buali (Maluango's capital) have brought the coffin containing the body of the defunct Maluango to XIENJI the people of Lubu throw shells at them and chase them away. Then taking charge of the body, they and Mamboma bury it near to the above two trees.

As we passed through the village of Zulu, we cast a last look at the sea and the pretty Bay of Luango, with its lighthouse at Point Indienne. Just beyond the point, on the way to Black Point, one can see the wood that contains the sacred grove of Nymina; and nearer to Luango may be noticed the tall mangrove trees that mark the grove sacred to Lungululubu. We next crossed the Xibanda valley, and came to a place where once a town stood, called Ximpuku. Looking north from this place we noted upon the crest of the opposite hill the grove sacred to Mpuku Nyambi, while to the south, and not far from our standpoint, a minor grove, spoken of as the offspring of Mpuku Nyambi, topped the hill. This grove is called Xilu Xinkukuba, and is near the linguister Juan's town. Then 14 or 15 miles south, behind Black Point, near to the River Ximani and the town of Nvuxi, stands the grove of Xivuma, and as many miles north, at Xissanga upon the sea coast, is situated the grove sacred to the double personages Nxiluka and Xikanga; while far away to the north, on the ruddy cliffs behind Konkwati, 60 miles from here, is the grove called Xinjili.

We made next for the huge *numbu*-tree situated at the village of Bitoko. Bitoko must be more than twenty miles from the sea, yet the huge *numbu*-tree can be distinctly seen from the deck of a passing ship as a dark spot in the horizon. We dived down into the valley of the Lubendi river, climbed over the hill and plain of Monga Matondi, where once a robber-chief of that name had his town, and soon afterwards arrived at the town belonging to the Prince Mabukenia, called Luvwiti. Here we learnt that Mamboma and the other princes had just returned from a visit to Maniluemba, and that the latter had accepted their invitation to fill the vacant throne of Maluango Prati.

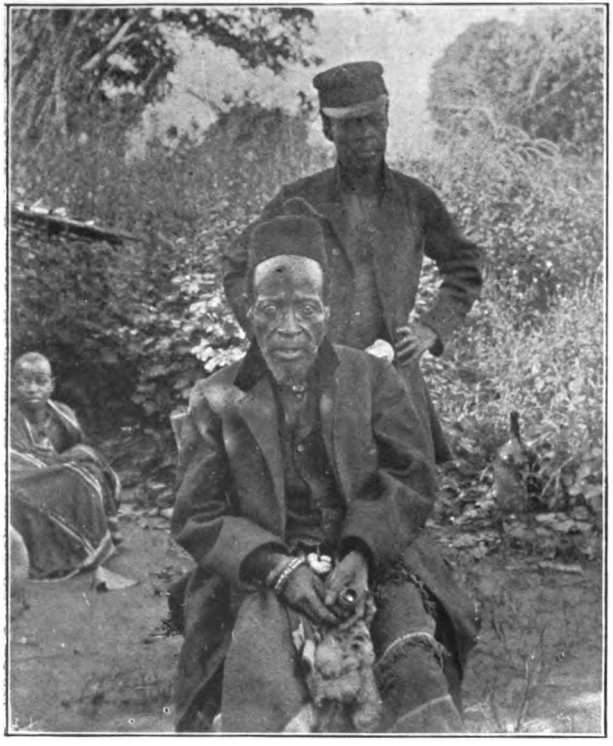
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Maniluemba, they told us, had left Bitoko for Ndembuano, a town still further east, just at the time when the French Government was busy requisitioning carriers for the famous Marchand Nile expedition. They naïvely said that he was a man of peace and did not wish to have any question with the white man.

For miles and miles had we seen that *numbu*-tree. When we were on the top of Monga Matondi it looked as if it were just on the hill where Xiswami, the ivory-carver, has his village, and when we arrived there we found it was still two hours from us, on the summit of the Bitoko hill. We slept at Bitoko, and I do not think I shall ever forget the place, which is stamped upon my memory by the recollection of the wondrous sunrise I witnessed there. The neat little village rests on the top of the hill a little to the south-west of the wood in which the *numbu*-tree towers above the palms and other trees. The morning mist seemed to hang heavily over the wood, while the great sun, twice magnified, shot up behind it, and the tall grass, covered with a sea of spiders' webs loaded with dew, which, rocked in the morning breeze, quickly lost its glistening pearl-like beauty. But as we marched down into the valley of the River Xisabu the grass was still wet enough to soak us through and through before we reached the swamps and shady waters which it took us fifteen minutes to cross. At length we gained the high land again where Ndembuano's scattered shimbecs lie hidden among palm- and mango-trees.

We found Maniluemba (Pl. II) wandering about, with his little fetishes, *Ntéu* and *Nkubi*, in his hand ; and wearing his *Bicimbo* (a kind of sash of iron boat-chain) over his right shoulder and fastened under his left arm. Protected in this way, whoever dared to wish him harm would have been killed by these fetishes, who would divine their very thoughts. When Maniluemba had greeted me, he went within the fence of rushes (called *Lumbu*) that guards the privacy of his wives, to put his coat on. Coming out again, he caught me examining a little hut close by, which he called *nzo ngofo* (house sacred to the marriage fetish *ngofo*). The copper

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MANILUEMBA.

See page 10.



Sun and Moon Badge]

See page 103.

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bracelet Lembe[1] hung heavily upon his wrist. Maniluemba is humpbacked and short in stature, but he possesses a rather fine Jewish cast of face; and he is a bit of a dandy evidently, for the ends of his moustaches were strung through the hollow centres of two amber beads. In the middle of his forehead, from his hair to his nose, ran a line in red chalk, flanked on each side by a white one; while from his ears to his eyes similar marks nearly completed his fetish toilet. On either ear he had placed a white chalk mark, while a string with a charm attached to it was worn as a kind of necklace. He wore a waistcoat and an overcoat with a velvet collar, while a fancy cloth hung on his belt around his waist, and in front of this his *nkanda ndéci* (a skin).[2]

I placed my offerings before him and congratulated him upon his election, and (while his people chased fowls) we had a long and interesting talk, and I took his photograph. Then he gave me his pipe to smoke, and shook me by the hand, until his heavy marriage bracelet fairly rattled against his bony wrist; and as I was leaving he presented me with the result of his people's hunt, namely, three fowls, and bade me go in peace.

Upon my return journey, after passing the town of Ximoko, I came to a place in the grassy plain marked by

[1] *Lembe* is a bracelet showing that the wearers have been married according to a certain marriage rite. The wife married in this way is the one who acts as guardian of all her husband's *sinkici*, and should she commit adultery the husband upon opening the basket containing the charms connected with the marriage will find them wet. *Nkaci Lembe* (the *lembe* wife) is kept very strictly within her hut and the fence surrounding it (lumbu). Women married in this way may not eat the fish *xala* (the bream ?), which is noted for the efforts it makes to escape from the net when caught.

("*Lemba* means, to cease. The rites of Lembe are those which refer to the marriage of a woman who swears to die with her husband, or rather to cease to live at the same time that he does."—Letter of the author's to Miss Kingsley, quoted in *West African Studies*, p. 193.)

[2] There are two kinds of skins worn in this way by the Bavili: *nkanda ndéci*, a wild cat-skin, and *xingola xinyundu*, the otter-skin. Those who wear these skins are considered to-day very well to do people; there is one thing about them that they must always bear in mind, and that is, when they take them off not to pull them downwards, but to take care to pull them upwards between the belt and the cloth; otherwise they will have no children.

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the sacred tree *Nkumbi* (Pl. II). Here the Maluango elect is received by the princes upon his first official entrance upon the sacred ground (Xibila) set apart as the residence of the Kings of Luango.[1]

The place where this tree rears its stately head in lonely glory is called Xibindu bindu Xibukulu lu mpilo. Xinkumba means a maiden, and the natives tell me the place, and the tree Nkumbi, takes its name from the fact of some royal maiden having arrived at womanhood there. Man and woman together may not cross this *Xibindu* (valley); the man must go first, and when he is well across the woman may follow him. At Boa Vista there is another such *Xibindu*, and should a man and a woman cross these places together, they will be punished by having no children. So much for the tree at the entrance of the sacred ground. As we leave it upon the road to Lubu (Maluango's burial-place) there stands a *Nsexi* tree, once a market tree, beneath whose scanty shade the corpse of the defunct Maluango is placed, awaiting the meeting of the people, whose duty it is to carry it to Lubu for burial. Here the little valley is called Xibindu bindu ku Ximonika na Buali, the valley of the last look at Buali (Maluango's town). As we neared Luango we were struck by the great beauty of a deep valley that runs from the foot of the steep cliff upon which we stood, away to the sea. This valley is called Bulu Nzimbu Xikoko (the valley of the fly and the mosquito hand in hand), and from out its depths *Xama Ngonzola*, the evil rainbow-snake, rises, as I shall describe in the chapter on OMENS. The *numbu* tree is this valley's sacred tree. In a very few years all traces of these trees and places may be lost, so that we have been fortunate in visiting them while they still remain intact.

On another occasion after trying very hard to get a photograph of a *muamba*-tree, and finding it impossible on account of the density of the bush, we left Mambuku's town about ten o'clock in the morning, and found our way to Buali, expecting to find MANILUEMBA installed in state. We found

[1] *Xi=ci*, quality of, or earth; *bila*, to meet or to heap up. I could not find any lombi in Maluango's *xibila*, but the meaning of the word XIBILA is very suggestive, *i.e.*, sacred grove.

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NKUMBI Tree.

See page 12.

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him dressed in a loose cloth hung around his waist, the iron chain BICIMBO slung over his shoulder; he was sitting on a very shaky chair in front of a crowd of men and women, all seated on the ground and wearing wreaths of palm-leaves over their shoulders.[1] These were Nganga Mpunzi and his people, who were "jamming" about the pay they were to receive for clearing the sacred ground. This is the office of the priest Mpunzi (*Mpu*=hat or crown, *Nzi*=he that produces); he is the crowner, or, as it were, the creator of kings.

It seemed that having arrived and been received by the princes at the nkumbi-tree, *Maluango* had now to await the visits of the *Bakici baci; i.e.*, the representatives of all the different families owning sacred ground within his kingdom. These people were described to me as the "eyes" of the people. Each one of these had to visit Maniluemba and receive a present from him, before NGANGA MPUNZI and his people could come and cut the grass and prepare a place where NGANGA NVUMBA, the king-elect, could erect his dwelling (shimbec). Until all these ceremonies were over Maniluemba was not allowed to live within a shimbec. Thus the sacrifice the old man was making was no imaginary one, for, as will be remembered, he was very comfortably housed and surrounded in his village NDEMBUANO.

The place about to be cleared was pointed out to us, and we were told that it was there that the late Maluango Prati had lived. I noticed two Baobabs, a NUMBU and an NFUMA (silk cotton tree) upon this ground.

As soon as Maluango caught sight of me he left the palaver and came to offer me his chair. Then he sat beside me and asked me if I had lunched. I answered, No; so he gracefully offered me all he could, namely, four pieces of *miaka* or prepared mandioca. While this was being roasted he told me that this was the last ceremony in connection with his accession, except that of receiving the congratulations

[1] The *lembelembe*, wreath or rather sash of palm-leaves, also worn by the king-elect, gives us the idea of the coming marriage of MANILUEMBA to his new duties as king. The plant or bush-string with which the two ends of the *lembelembe* are tied together is called *mobula*. Nganga Mpunzi's sacred plant is the *mobula*; his fetish *lembelembe*; his *xina*, that he must not eat together with other people, and that his food must not be cooked by an unmarried person.

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and submission of all his petty princes. These, he said, he would send for as soon as he was settled. On that occasion he would declare that Maluango Prati had been buried, and crown himself as Maluango, and reinvest his chiefs with their caps of office.

He said he was a little worried about the chiefs of those provinces which he understood were now under the dominion of the King of Portugal; "but," he added, "as Maluango, I am FUMU (= chief) of all the country from Mayumba to the river Xiluango." He also said that he had spent a great deal of money in all these preliminary ceremonies, and did not exactly know where more money was to come from, as he could no longer receive customs from the traders, and was in fact only king in name.

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CHAPTER III

CORONATION OF A KING IN THE KONGO

The Bacilongo Ceremony.—Festival.—The Dancers.—Effigy of the Deceased King.—The Dance.—Processions.

A Coronation Ceremony

When the time came for Maluango to be crowned he appealed to the French Government for funds. How, said he, can I entertain the hundreds of people that will be obliged to come to subject themselves to me, many of whom coming from long distances I shall have to support for many days. The French Government did not see its way to stand this trivial expenditure, and so Maniluemba remained simply Nganga Nvumba. A drought and famine succeeding his election, the people cried out that it was owing to his coming to Buali, and Maniluemba, bereft of the power wielded by the ancient Nganga Nvumbas, retired once more to his secluded home at Ndembuano, to the delight of the degenerate Bavili.

As I was a witness some years ago (1891) of the ceremony attending the coronation of the present Neamlau of the Bacilongo, some extracts of a letter written at the time to the "Manchester Geographical Society" may be of interest. But I shall ever regret the non-coronation of Maniluemba, for the reason that the Bavili, unlike the Bacilongo (singular Mucilongo),[1] have never, until quite lately, been really under the influence of Christianity. I feel that we

[1] Commonly but incorrectly written Musserongo; the word means "man of Cilongo."

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should have had something to learn from the uncontaminated heathen ceremony.

NEAMLAU, the chief of the BACILONGO on the northern bank of the Kongo, in the kingdom of KAKONGO, near to BANANA, built his towns on the hills facing the sea. They are prettily situated, nestled, as it were, beneath the shade of huge Baobabs and groves of Cachew trees.

In the latter part of 1887 the late NEAMLAU (Pl. IV*a*) died, I should say of old age. A veritable prince, full of dignity and fire, he lived to see his country taken from him. Accustomed in the olden days, when the slave trade was in full swing, to receive handsome presents from the captains of men-of-war or slave-trading vessels with perfect impartiality, besides "customs" from the traders and natives living in his territory, NEAMLAU then lived in clover. He was much feared by the milder KAKONGOS round about, and known as the chief of a great family of pirates. Deprived of ways and means whereby to fill his exchequer he passed his latter days in comparative poverty.

His family had, with other BACILONGO, migrated from the south bank of the Congo and taken up its residence in the islands and on the banks on the northern side of this river.

This may have occurred at the time mentioned by Proyart, when MAMBUKU of KAKONGO, aided by the BACILONGO, dethroned MAKONGO; or the origin of NEAMLAU'S right to be on the north bank may have come from a far more early date, *i.e.*, from the time when the first king of the united kingdom of Kongo organised his government and placed the ancestor of NEAMLAU there as MAFUKA MACI or ferryman, and then as NGENO, still a title of Neamlau, a kind of ambassador through whom messages were sent to KAKONGO and LUANGO.

It must be remembered that the history of the Kongo, as we have it, commenced only at that period when anarchy was already breaking it up. NEAMLAU, at any rate, owed allegiance to the chief of SONIO,[1] and received his wives from there (now Portuguese territory), and when he died had to be buried in the cemetery set apart for princes in Sonio.

[1] The King of Kongo's province south of the Kongo.

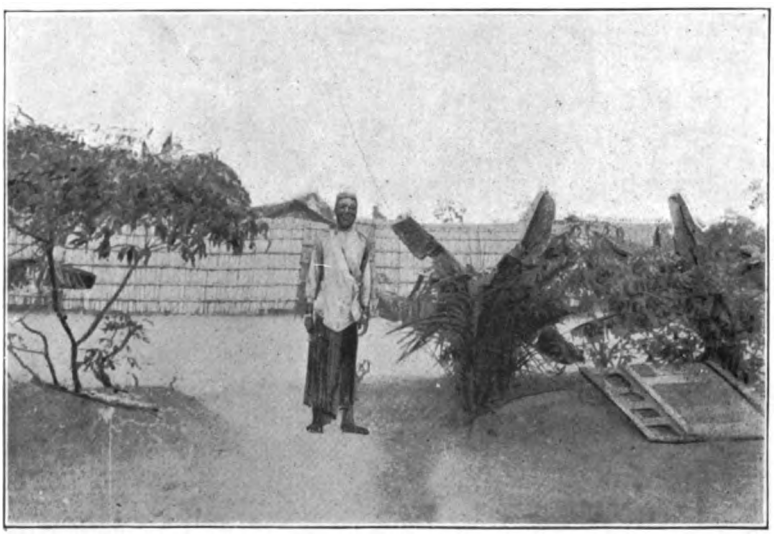
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The late NEAMLAU and an officer. *See page 17.*

PLATE IVb



LUMBU (Lembe wife's enclosure). *See page 89.*

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Thus, when the late NEAMLAU died, preparations were made for his burial in that place. A year passed and all was ready. The Congo State, naturally anxious that so influential a prince should be buried in State territory, promised that a steam launch should tow the funeral flotilla to BOMA, where the State proposed to bury him with all the honours due to his rank. Family ties and ancient usage, however, gained the day, and one dark night the canoes carrying the coffin and the mourners threaded their way through the maze of creeks, and at peep of day, ere yet the sea breeze ruffled the waters of the fast flowing river, were manfully paddled across to San Antonio, in the province of SONIO.

NENIMI, his nephew, was elected by the MAMBOMA to reign in his stead, but to complete his coronation it was necessary that he should give a dance and festival in honour of the deceased. There having been no rains that year (1890–1891), NENIMI would fain have put off this ceremony until he could have given his guests a truly royal feast, but he was pressed by the "State" to give a dance at once, and on the condition that the Government should help to feed his guests NENIMI agreed to proceed with the ceremony.

Princes from far and near were summoned to the feast, and the date for the commencement of the dance was fixed for the 24th January, 1891.

.

Soon I descried the figure of the old man (NENIMI) on his way to welcome me, and as he waddled towards me (for he suffered greatly from Elephantiasis) let me describe his appearance to you. About fifty-five years of age, of spare habit, medium height, grey hair, with a pointed beard almost white; rather fine features, quite unlike those of the negro; quiet, dignified, meeting one generally cordially and pleasantly. On this occasion he wore an old black leather military helmet, with a white plume, marked "10th Prince Albert's Own." His coat was the frock coat of a lieutenant in H.B.M. navy. About eight yards of cloth known as blue baft, forty-two inches in width, begirt his loins and flowed in graceful folds behind him, he also carried in one hand a blue and yellow

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shawl as a handkerchief, in his other a kind of wooden sceptre surmounted by a figure carved in ivory.

.

The space cleared for the dance and meeting was in the form of a square perhaps 200 by 250 yards. In the north-east corner was a mighty Banyan tree with most of its down-growing shoots lopped off. A Baobab and Acachew tree at a distance from each other of some thirty yards occupied the centre. At the south-east corner an Acachew tree stood and at the south-west a Baobab.

Each tree was destined to lend its shade to a happy crowd of dancers, or to form a kind of canopy over NENIMI as he sat on a mat beneath its shade to receive his many guests.

Partitions (of papyrus) forming stalls something like horse-boxes rested against the outside fence that formed the eastern side of a great enclosure, within which the riches of the late NEAMLAU were exposed to view. This fence, which also formed the western boundary of the cleared space, was decorated with flags.

.

"Hullo! 'Gabba!' what is the matter? Have you only just turned out of bed? What means this hideous costume?" Gabba, a very old servant of the successive English houses in Banana, salaamed me. He was dressed in a red skull-cap, a short white surplice, and a yellow cloth which acted as a kind of skirt. In his ears hung two ugly looking large crosses formed of blue beads (He was a curious old stick was Gabba, and deserves to have his life written by anyone who has the patience to get his story out of him.) On this occasion I made use of him as a pilot.

.

Up to the present all those anxious to enter the enclosure to see the late NEAMLAU'S relics had had to pay two bottles of rum entrance fee, but now NENIMI and I were to open the show to the public. He led me through the maze-like entrance into the square beyond. The fence was made of strips of bamboo neatly tied together and supported by

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sticks firmly planted in the ground. There were two shimbecs or huts in this enclosure, the smaller one containing the relics of NEAMLAU, the greater one his bed and hammock. The roof of each shimbec was covered with white cloth, while a gay coloured (red, white, and yellow striped) cloth covered the ridge pole, and planks of the NVUKU tree kept this cloth in its place. The roofs in the distance had the appearance of the white-washed roofs of the white man's houses in Banana. The open front of the smaller shimbec was curtained off by a red and white blanket. This NENIMI now threw over the roof, and displayed to our view its interior. The walls of the interior were draped with cloth and white blankets. At the back under an umbrella sat an effigy of the late NEAMLAU. He wore the uniform coat of a British naval officer, over which round about his shoulders hung a native cape made of cotton, called NSENDA.[1] Tell beads and crucifixes, charms, amulets, and fetishes hung from his neck. He wore a blue cloth and boots. To his right on a wall hung a small oleograph, on his left a large oil painting of a lady, while the walls were covered with advertisement cards that had been thrown away by the importers of the goods. In front of this effigy sat what was left of old NEAMLAU'S family, one of his wives playing the accordion, not well, but at least noisily. In the immediate foreground of the figure stood a table covered with black and red speckled shawls, and on this lay the relics of the prince who had gone to his rest, a cottage clock, a brass lamp, three ewers and basins, a duck box, and other earthenware figure ornaments, old red and white glass ware, table glasses and pint mugs. And while I had been taking all this in, two men without had been trying to deafen me with their music on drum and native bells.

I forgot to mention the most important part of all, and that is, that the effigy was wearing his native cap[2] (made of the fibre of the pineapple) with the name NEAMLAU marked on it. This accounted for the curious non-native head gear

[1] Or XISEMBA. See object in Exeter Museum or illustration in *Seven Years among the Fjort*. See also *Laws of the Bavili*.

[2] MPU NTANDA, see *Laws of the Bavili*, also illustrations in *Seven Years among the Fjort*, p. 49.

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of NENIMI, for his "cap" was worn by the effigy and would only become legally his at the end of all these ceremonies.

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I just took a look into the larger hut and saw the bed and hammock of the late NEAMLAU. NPAKA the son of the late king was seated there by himself, to receive any visitors that might come to condole with him. I asked him why they had made the entrance to this enclosure so difficult, and he said it was to prevent drunkards from finding their way in.

When I came out of the enclosure many princes were already seated under the shade of the Cachew tree, and dancing had commenced beneath the Banyan tree.

And now a procession of perhaps twenty men and women wended their way from the north-west in Indian file to the tree under which NENIMI was seated. They were all dressed in cloths, dyed red, and each wore a heavy silver leg ring about his ankle[1]; the contrast between the dull red cloth and the bright metal was very striking. The chiefs of this party knelt before NEAMLAU, and after a few words received his blessing, after which the followers sang a song of praise and then adjourned to the Baobab tree to dance.

Then from the N.E. a long line of white clothed natives marched solemnly forward. The MANKAKA (captain and executioner) accompanying this crowd beat the earth with his stick and then rushed excitedly along the line trailing his long cloth behind him. The NGANGA, with his wooden plate of medicine water in one hand and a bunch of herbs in the other, followed after him and sprinkled the people. The bugler and the drummer supplied the music. The chiefs knelt down before NENIMI and were blessed, and then the followers waved their sticks and cloths on high, shouting their song with great enthusiasm, which, however, was soon checked by the NGANGA, who sprinkled them once more with his medicine water. Now, as if in answer to this song

[1] The Bacilongo are famed for their blacksmiths, who turn English shillings bearing the late Queen's head into their anklets. Ornaments made from this silver is called KWINIKIMBOTA (queenly good), which words now signify anything of pure metal. Even a wife that has born her husband children and is faithful to him is so called.

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up jumped the followers of XIMAWNGO AWLO followed by those of MBUKU and sang very loudly.

Then NEFUKU formed his people under a Cachew tree, the men near the trunk of the tree, the women to the left, and the children to the right, the drummers opposite to the men. A man began a song and dance by wriggling, rubbing his stomach with one hand and beating his chest with the other and emitting a great shout. He sang, and as he danced round the circle (inside) he bowed from time to time to those just in his vicinity, and as he did so they clapped their hands. Then they all sang and wriggled. Other men joined this singer and danced round with him. They became quiet, and then the singer treated them to a trill that Adelina Patti might be proud of. He beat his throat with the side of his hand and brought the effect out that way. Then as he came down to the level of an ordinary singer, the crowd once more joined in with its lala, lala, lala. Then a stranger (a servant of the Congo State), took his place and as he wriggled round and with a graceful curve bowed to his neighbour he found that the latter was looking the other way and did not give him the welcome clap-clap of hands, so he retired. Two ladies, good looking in their way, now modestly stepped into the circle. Dressed in red with silver anklets, and about thirty pounds of china olive beads about their waists, they appeared to await the orders of the singer or master of the ceremonies. He sprinkled some rum upon their heads to give them courage. They looked as if they would rather not be there, and I have no doubt wished themselves among their cooking-pots. They made two or three attempts to dance, but finally their shyness overcame them and they ran away back to their places. An old lady, very heavily weighted with beads, took their places and, wriggling, seemed to defy the world.

NENIMI was still seated under the Cachew tree receiving his guests, when a small procession was noticed coming from the S.W. It consisted of a man (dressed in a light blue coat and a cloth of blue and white checks, who also wore a white helmet), and his wife and two children in European clothes, and two or three other women. An opening was made for

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them in the crowd surrounding NENIMI, and the man, whose name was MARFINI, knelt down in front of his prince placing one of his children on either side of him. He spoke for some time in the usual flowery strain, and then turning his eyes upwards prayed NZAMBI to look down upon them and bless the great NEAMLAU to be. His little children, his wife and the women, when he commenced to pray, bowed their heads and buried their faces in their hands. All around listened patiently and respectfully, and when he had finished by saying AMEN, AMEN, NENIMI rubbed his hands in the earth and made the sign of the cross upon MARFINI'S forehead, and then blessed and dismissed them.

Yet one more procession, this time led by the gallant Gabba, and it was the longest of them all. A man carrying a basin of food headed it, then came the old man. And now a man carrying a girl, just out of the *paint house*,[1] upon his shoulders. She carried a looking-glass in her hand, and continued to admire herself in it; then came women carrying bottles on their heads, old blue glass ware, the lid of a cigar box with a picture on it, a small box, old books and plates; the bugler and drummer bringing up the rear.

.

NENIMI came to me to tell me that the other white men were going to take their breakfast at the Mission, but asked me not to go as he had prepared a meal for me. I thanked him and then went to watch him give out the food to his visitors.

He and his wife Maria[2] sat beneath a Cachew tree at the South-east corner of the cleared space near to his own shimbec, while certain of his people brought a low table and placed it before them. On this table were nine huge masses of FUNDI (tapioca) for the nine chiefs present. Out of a twenty-gallon (three-legged) iron pot boiled pig[3] was produced, and with the gravy this was put into nine basins. Nine men then took away the dishes to the princes for whom

[1] See p. 69; also *West Africa*, March 21, 1903, p. 293, and *Laws of the Bavili*.

[2] After the great Donna Maria Segunda.

[3] The flesh of the pig is XINA to FUMU ZINKONDI or ZINKATA, Royal princes, but not to FUMU LIVANTI ordinary chiefs.

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they were intended. Near to NENIMI was the twenty-five gallon barrel of rum, the pig, and the two-hundredweight bag of rice given to him by the State.

The State Doctor thought this a good opportunity to photograph NENIMI and his wife, but he was sorely interrupted. First of all a man came and asked NENIMI if the soldiers of the Congo State were not to drink? If they were, where was the water? "Call dem women," cried Queen Maria. Then two men came bringing the food they had received back, complaining that it was not sufficient for so many people. "Give them a pig," growled king NENIMI, while the impatient Doctor told him not to move. And now two princes with their long sticks came and knelt before NENIMI. "Don't move," cried the Doctor, and he would take the picture thus. And yet another complaint reached the king before his photo had been taken. The people of MPANGALA being strong had taken all the food away from the complainant and had left him and his people with a hungry belly.

After this I "chopped" part of a *very* tough fowl and some rice mixed with palm oil and a liberal allowance of sand. Water was scarce, and that which there was, was very dirty, so that I was glad when my meal was over and I could rest and smoke for a while. Queen Maria, who was telling me a story, was evidently minded not to let me smoke too much, for she pounced upon my tin of tobacco and having taken what she wanted, passed it round to her friends. And the "last man" showed me what was left and took the tin. Thus, you see, it is not only in civilised countries that one has to pay for seeing a coronation.

Such was the Bacilongo coronation, and from this account the reader may form some idea of the ceremony on the Lower Kongo. It must be remembered that the Bavili ceremony would have been, in all probability of a more truly native cast; but as I have explained, circumstances did not permit me to witness the crowning of Maniluemba.

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CHAPTER IV

COURTS OF MALUANGO AND MAMBOMA

The Interregnum.—Maluango's Court.—Mamboma's Court.—Justice.—The Magic Mirror.—Some Fjort Sayings.—The Districts.

WE now turn to the court of MALUANGO or the Prince of the Custom of the Leopard. Maluango, as we have seen, is the king or chief of the Bavili; the word is equivalent to Maniluango, *i.e.*, Prince of Luango; his overlord was, of course, Kongo, the Ntawtela,[1] of the realm of Kongo. MALUANGO has seven titles, one of which, NTAWTELA, is his title after his death. Under six of these titles he presides over six sections of government, aided in each case by two assessors.

Division 1.

As FUMU (judge) he appears as the conscientious arbitrator, and in these matters he has as assessors LUEMBUNGU and MANKAKA, the chief of his army and the executioner. NGANGA MPUNZI is the priest, whose duty it is to clean and sweep up the place where the coming Maluango shall build his dwelling.

Division 2.

As NTINU (judge), he is the reasoning judge, and here he is aided by INJIBUNGU [2] and the recording messenger MAXIENJI.

In cases where no just decision can be arrived at Maluango

[1] The title is according to Bentley, applied during their lifetime to the kings of Kongo, to the subject princes of Luango and Kakongo only after their death.

[2] Where no office is named, I have been unable to discover the functions performed by this officer mentioned.

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advised the parties to take the powdered bark of the NKASA tree (not the pea shrub) which was administered by the priest NGANGA NKASA. The innocent party would vomit, while the guilty one either died from the effect of the poison, or, being purged, was killed.

Division 3.

As NGANGA VUMBA (Priest of the Seasons), it was the duty of Maluango to look after the morals of his people, more especially touching adultery and murder; in this he was helped by KONGO MBUNGU and MAFUKA, his messenger. After punishment adulterers had to buy certain expensive medicines from NGANGA KUTECI to appease BUNZI.

Division 4.

As MALUANGO XIVANJI (head of the state), it was his duty to govern the country, and in these matters he was assisted by TATABUNGU and MAMBOMA. And NGANGA MBUMBA aided them with his knowledge of the secrets of life and medicines.

Division 5.

As MUENE (overlooker), Maluango was the overseer of his people; here he was assisted by MABUNDU, the representative of his fruit or offspring, and the chief of his household MASAFI. And the NGANGA BUNDU helped him in settling disputes by administering to the offenders the powdered bark of the BUNDU herb. The guilty party after taking this was unable to make water, and fell, while the innocent evacuated a few drops on a leaf placed beneath him.

Division 6.

As NKICI CI,[1] as we shall note, Maluango was one of the seven powers or BAKICI BACI, and here he was aided by MAMATA and MAMBUKU, guardian of the eastern gate of his kingdom. And in this place he had the help of the NGANGA BAKICI, or the priest of the XIBILA or sacred grove.

Such is the court of MALUANGO.

[1] For the meaning, see Chapter XVI.

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Maxienji, *Mafuka*, *Mambuku*, are each attended by a MAFUKA (messenger), MANGOVA (knight) and a MASAFI (major domo).

Mamboma has three ZINGANGA as his attendants, NGANGANKICI (fetish), NGANGA BAKICI (sacred grove), and NGANGA XILEMBA.

Mamata has MAZONGA MAKAYA as his attendant.

Mankaka is attended by his successor MUELA.

The names of these courtiers are BABI ACI opposed to the name by which ordinary people are known, BACI CI.

MALUANGO also has a private MAMBOMA with him apart from the above courtiers, and KUTECI, his apothecary, is also generally with him.

With regard to the chief personages in this court, there are some sayings in very old Fjort which will help us perhaps to a little more precise information about them and their offices.

Of Mamboma they say :

Kanga lumbi ; Kanga mbeta
Malamba malambakana, Xivili.

I don't think anyone to-day can translate this exactly, but it carries the following meaning with it : " Just as the sun rises and sets, so it is Mamboma's business to look after the crowning and burial of Maluango ; and just as a woman cooks and intends to go on cooking (and watching her pots), so Mamboma watches over the BAVILI."

Of Mambuku they say :

Mambuku nandu, nkaka bakamba,
Xikata kata xianlo tenda Maluango yeza'ntu.

" Mambuku the guardian of the gateway leading from the Mayombe country into Luango, is hard-headed and obstinate, and like *Maluango's little box with its closed lid will* only open his mouth at his bidding."

Of Mafuka they say :

Mafuka xikangu kangula bana mampanga.

" Mafuka as the royal messenger keeps on tying up people by word of mouth, or with a wordy yoke."

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Of Maxienji they say:

Maxienji, magundu lubenda
Sanga mbuila zika, monho
Bungu maci, Xindundu,
Ku zikula ntandu.

"Just as Mafuka is the bearer of messages, so Maxienji is the bearer of the news of the death of Maluango; he prays Mamboma to bury him; and just as the wife with her water-bottle leaves her husband's corpse on its way to burial to fetch water, so he leaves Maluango's body with the people of Mamboma, and looks after the *Badungu* or *Xindundu* (Maluango's police), who are now scattered about in the grass ready to rob all passers-by while Mamboma's people keep on burying Maluango in the open on the hill (at Lubu)."

Of Mankaka of Loango they say:

Mankaka zi Loango
Benze, moanga
Ke ku benzanga mitu bantu.

"Mankaka the executioner of Luango cuts and twists about (Ke = not?) to keep on cutting off the heads of people."

I think it will be found that these ancient sayings refer to a time when the official language of Luango was more in accordance with that of the ancient Kongo, so many of the words used in them are not of the Luango dialect. This perhaps points to Luango as having been a conquered province. The religion and social system may then have been superposed?

THE SUBJECT COURT OF MAMBOMA.

Upon his death MALUANGO is given the title of NTAWTELA, and is buried, as we have seen, by MAMBOMA, and his people, MAMBOMA, is the prime minister of the living king, his regent during his absence, and the ruler of the kingdom during an interregnum. He is always a slave, and as such incapable of succeeding to the kingship. On the death of the king, it is the duty of MAMBOMA, through the MAMBOMAS of the other provinces, to call the princes together and proceed to the election of the new high priest NGANGA NVUMBA. The choice is restricted to the sons of the princesses living in

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KONDI, but not to any particular one. The diviner NGANGA MPUKU with his magic mirror is called in, should there be any need of divine interference owing to want of unanimity.

In the meantime MAMBOMA and his court take the place of the court of the late MALUANGO, although MAMBOMA is always in subjection either spiritually to the NTAWTELA or bodily to MALUANGO, so that he is always either the servant of the dead or of the living.

At the gate of the XIBILA or MALUANGO'S sacred ground there sits a certain personage called MAXILACI. MAMBOMA claims this person as part of his court, but so does MALUANGO, and from the fact that he is at the gate of the XIBILA (sacred ground), there can be no doubt that he now is part of the latter's following.

MAMBOMA has a court of twelve, not counting MAXILACI.

1. LUEMBA LAMBA.
2. XENDU, the executioner.
3. NJIMBI LAMBA.
4. MABUNDU MABUNDU.
5. KONGOLAMBA.
6. MAFUKA, the messenger.
7. TATA LAMBA.
8. MAMBOMA MICITATA, Mamboma's Mamboma, the ruler the earth.
9. MABUNDU, representing his followers.
10. MANTU BOMA, his successor.
11. KABA, the one who allots,
12. MALUNGONGOLO, the crier.

These twelve are the assessors in the six divisions into which Mamboma's court is divided, and which correspond to the divisions of Maluango's court.

Division 1.

A person representing Maluango in his office of FUMU heads this division and his name is MAXINGANANKULU, and when he, aided by LUEMBA LAMBA and XENDU, cannot settle the question in arbitration they call in the NGANGA MPUSU, who has a small but neatly made basket of grass with

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a tight-fitting lid on it. When the name of the guilty one is mentioned he finds it impossible to take this lid off.

Division 2.

MAMBOMA KAYI, acting in the place of MALUANGO as NTINU, presides over this division, aided by NJIMBI LAMBA and the messenger MABUNDU MABUNDU (a kind of chief of police), and if they cannot properly prove the person guilty, they call in the NGANGA XIKETEMBI, who has two wisps of grass, a mat NKWALA, and a boy. The boy lies upon the wisps and mat and the NGANGA tries to lift him up by the two ends. If the name mentioned or thought of by him is that of the guilty party, the wisps and mat cling to the body of the boy in such a way that he can easily be lifted up, and the pressure is such on the body of the boy as to cause him at times to spit blood.

Division 3.

MAMBOMA, under his spiritual title NKANGA LUMBI, takes the place of MALUANGO as NGANGA VUMBA aided by KONGO-LAMBA and his MAFUKA; and if they are not satisfied with the evidence they will call in the MKANGA NTALI, who has a small bundle of medicines wrapped in cloth and feathers. This he keeps on smelling till he thinks of the guilty one, when the odour confirms him in his suspicion.

Division 4.

MAMBOMA, in the place of MALUANGO XIVANJI, aided by TATA LAMBA and MAMBOMA MICITATA, tries the accused, and if unable to convict, calls in the NGANGA XISENGO, who has a knife which he makes almost red-hot and passes across the palms of the hands or calves of the legs of the accused. If there appears the smallest sign of a blister, the person is considered guilty. (This custom is called XISENGO.)

Division 5.

VUTA MALEKA, the conciliator, takes the place of the king as MUENE, aided by the MABUNDU and MANTU BOMA, and in the final appeal he calls in NGANGA SUKU, who rubs the palms of his hands together, till he thinks of the name

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of the culprit, when his hands refuse to meet but turn back to back.

Division 6.

No one can fill in the office of NKICI CI, so that the services of the KABA and MALUNGONGOLO are called in with those of Nganga MPUKU NYAMBI who, if necessary, looks into the magic mirror to find out who shall become the new NKICI CI or NGANGA NVUMBA, who is then elected.

The Abbé Proyart says that everybody knew that when the king died MAKAYI *would succeed him*, and other writers have also told us who it is that will succeed the king; is it not possible that these authors have been in error, and that they have mistaken these temporary occupiers of the offices of MALUANGO for his real successor, whom nobody can name until he has been chosen and elected by MAMBOMA and the princes?

Battel also mentions a certain four, one of whom shall succeed the NTAWTELA. (See Ravenstein's Battel, *Congo and Angola.*)

At the present day the Bavili consult these diviners without the intervention of MAMBOMA.

MPUKU NYAMBI often accompanies the present NGANGA NVUMBA. He wears a head-dress of the red feathers of the tail of the grey parrot. He holds a mirror with BILONGO (medicines) attached to the back of it in one hand, in the other he carries a small bundle of medicines out of which the feathers of the fowl protrude. He is not only the diviner (in case of dispute) of the MALUANGO to be elected, but also uses his powers to-day to divine the cause of the anger of the powers, or the person who has caused sickness or other evils to fall upon the petitioner or his dead relation.

THE KONGOZOVO, OR CHIEFS OF DISTRICTS IN THE SEVEN PROVINCES

Each province under its manifumu[1] has its courts modelled upon the two we have described and each petty prince as the chief of these districts is a magistrate, or KONGOZOVO.

[1] The manifumu is named after his province: thus the chief of XIBANGA is MA XIBANGA.

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BUALI is the name of Maluango's centre province, and it has a road to the sea at Luango. The names of the Kongozovo in this province are—Mpili, Ntumpu, Mpanji, Lubu, Bukulibuali, Xifungu, Butoko, Pongo, Xisu, Sauza, Nkondo, Kubemba, Lombo, Mengo, Mongo-ntandu, Nkanga, Mbanga, Xibalo.

There are six other provinces—Mbuku, Luanjili, Zibanga, Kondi-Ndingi, Xikamba, Samanu.

MBUKU contains the following Kongozovo as far as I can gather. (It is bordered by Mayombe and Buali). Binga, Mfinio, Makollo, Inda, Lilu-ngoma, Xikana-ximbuku, Mvuadi, Xilala, Tombi, Bilinga.

LUANJILI, bounded by the river Lueme and the sea, contains Mpaka, Xingambi, Mvumva, Ximbamba, Xinuka, Ximbambuka, Ngoio-ntu, Mpita, Kote-mateva, Njeno, Nanga, Xinangananga, Nkotchi, Winga, Ntembo, Futu, Luanjilinkula, Mvetu, Xinyambi-xinani, Kata-mavata, Xiabi, Lulobi, Mvampili, Mbambala.

XIBANGA, bounded by the sea and Mayombe, is composed of Lubu, Yombo, Bifundi, Belolo, Longobondi, Xilunga, Xibote, Mabondi, Maxilunga-luemba, Batli-kondi, Xinjili, Konkuati, Xitenda, Seta-banda, Ximbia, Longo, Xisanga and Kwilu.

KONDI NDINJI, bordering Kakongo and Sundi. Ndinji, Kondi-ndinji, Xicita ndinji, Kaïi-kon'dinji, Nombo-xindinji, Sanga, Xingango, Mpanga-mongo, Xivava, Sevi, Ntumbi, Maxonzo, Lutati, Samputu, Bulali, Sokoto, Kama-mbota, Ximbuku, Kumbi-liambo.

XIKAMBA (East of the Lueme river and west of Ndinji) contains Kaïi, Nzaci, Xikaka, Sanza, Kutoto, Xamba, Mpemo, Jebba, Buamongo, Buku-ntamba, Xizibila, Nzanzi, Mvuli, Mieli, Nsuku, Konkonguati, Busu mbanda.

SAMANU, bounded by the sea in the west and Ndinji on the east. Buambu, Xinxonzo, Xiloango, Xela, Maxi-mabanda, Liku, Xikasu, Ntandu-lumana, Kikaka, Bixekete, Buswenji, Tungu, Nkotchi, Pam Kondi, Tero, Mabuli, Xibota, Ximania-matadi.

In the olden days, traders situated in these provinces only heard of "Maluango" as a great over-lord, and all their

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palavers were settled independently of him by these Kongozovo. This gave rise to the impression that these Kongozovo were independent princes, and that there was no connection between these petty princes and Maluango. It was only on great occasions that Maluango was appealed to, and this was done through regular channels. Palavers from south of the river Xiluango were carried to Njeno, on the Lueme river, who transferred them to Maluango's Mafuka. This connection can even be carried from Maluango to Kongo at San Salvador through "*Njeno*" of the Lueme river and "*Mgeno*" (Banana) on the Kongo, and the Mafukas (or messengers).

This semi-independence of these petty princes quite misled Mr. H. M. Stanley, who, in a letter dated from Gibraltar to Col. Strauch in the early eighties despaired of creating "Free States" in the Kongo. The Kongo would have worn a very different appearance to-day had the kingdoms of Kongo, Kakongo and Luango been resuscitated and governed on natural lines, if not as one kingdom, then as at least three "Free States."

Nothing could have been more disastrous to the welfare of the people and the country than the absolutely insane way this country was cut up between the French, the Portuguese, and the independent State of the Congo.

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CHAPTER V

LAW

The Family.—Marriage.—Contracts.—Property.—Crimes and Punishments.—Judicial Procedure.

Native Law

THE subject of African Law is a fascinating one and I am tempted to enlarge on it, the more so as it is but little understood in England, although a knowledge of it is clearly essential to the right governance of our black fellow subjects. Miss Kingsley has treated of African religion and law in her *West African Studies* (abridged edition), among other writers may be mentioned the late Sir. A. B. Ellis, Sir J. Smallman Smith, and Mr. J. W. Sarbah in addition. Much material has of course been pigeon-holed by various officials.

But, able though the English works above mentioned are, they do not go deep below the surface, and are far from being text-books of native customary law, to which the administration can turn for guidance. Our French neighbours, wise in their generation, have recently issued a monumental work, *Les Coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire* by Clozel; and a similar work on the native law of Nigeria compiled by a trained anthropologist who can give his whole time to his work would undoubtedly be of extreme value, not only to the student of comparative jurisprudence, but to the official who comes in daily contact with men who know only the native law, whose life is regulated by its fundamental principles, and who can be *governed* only if the English ruler recognises those principles and deals out even handed justice in accordance with them.

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In some primitive communities there is only one sort of offence which can be regarded as law-breaking Dr. Codrington shows that in Melanesia tabu takes the place of law; the infraction of a tabu may bring down on the head of the offender an automatic penalty; but he may be too strong spiritually; and then the penalty falls upon the innocent. To provide against this, the society itself of which the offender forms a part inflicts the penalty for wrong doing and thus satisfies the power whose wrath is incurred by the infraction of the tabu.

Just in the same way in Africa a violation of the moral law, if I may so term it, is an affair for the whole of the community. If Nzambi, on the Kongo, is provoked by immorality especially of a sexual kind, the result, as we shall see in a later chapter, is drought, and the penalty falls on the community. A violation of the moral law is in native phraseology a "God palaver"; any outrage on a spirit may be of this nature but in practice a man is left to settle his own account with a minor spirit, which is hardly powerful enough to inflict damage on a family or tribe. On the Congo, justice is so far organised, where "god palavers" are concerned, that punishments are inflicted by the Badungu acting on the orders of the king.

"Man palavers," on the other hand, or in our phraseology, Civil and Criminal Cases (for they are identical in Africa, the fundamental idea being that a debt of some sort has been incurred) are decided by a court of justice, which bases its decisions on precedents, but the judgment must be enforced by the winner of the case, aided it may be, by his family. It is not the business of the king or of any official to see that justice is done; when once judgment has been given and recognised by the people, generally the matter passes out of the hands of the state and becomes a private affair. If the loser is strong enough to resist payment the palaver becomes a trial of strength between the two families and may become a "war palaver"; in any case the palaver and its consequences, in the shape of liabilities to pay and right to receive, are handed down in the respective families, like any ordinary debt, until such time as the winner of the case is in a position to enforce payment.

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If the loser cannot resist, he must pay the debt or in default become a serf or pawn in the hands of the creditor; failing him, a member of his family, or an inhabitant of his town or district, loses his freedom. This service is not a set-off against the debt; the pawn is held until the debt is paid in legal currency; though a debtor may become a slave if his family has died out or dies out before the debt is paid; slavery, however, being regarded as a disgrace, the family would as long as it subsisted, endeavour to release one of its members.

The intimate connection between the spheres of law and religion or magic cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that the weaker party to a suit calls in the help of nail fetishes.

The form of the following notes is dictated by the form of the *questionnaire*—issued by the French authorities—to which it was originally an answer, and it must be read in the light of the foregoing note.

Section I.—Of the Family.

The organisation of the family or Xifumba is certainly one that the Bavili need not be ashamed of, and when compared to that of many civilised peoples can only be looked upon as a model of logical compactness.

The Xifumba is composed of the four grandparents Nkaka, the father Tata, the mother Mama, their children Bana, grandchildren Batekulu, great-grandchildren Ndandu, and great-great-grandchildren Ndalula.

The uncle on the mother's side is called Ngulinkaci, the aunt Mama.

The aunt by marriage is called Mama.

The uncles and aunts on the father's side Tata.

Brother or sister-in-law Zali.

Father or mother-in-law Nkwekici.

Son or daughter-in-law Nkwekici.

Uncle of mother Xikweci.

Uncle of father Xikweci.

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When you ask a native to what family he belongs he will answer you by giving you the name of his mother's family.

On the death of the father his brother takes care of the children; but the wife remains with her children sorrowing for her husband for at least twenty-four months, when she may marry again. These children are called bana bana ba bika nkulu. (The little children left by the spirit.)

A man may not marry any of his mother's family or relations whom he terms Mama. If the Xina of the girl the man wishes to marry is that of his mother he cannot marry her.

He may not marry the children of his father's brothers, but those of his father's sisters are not forbidden to him.

The family forms a part of the higher organisation of the tribe. Each individual belongs to a family; each family is under a chief called Kongo Zovo, and this chief is under the prince of the province containing these families, who is called by the name of his province preceded by the prefix Ma, short for Manifumu. Seven of these provinces hold the people of Luango, called the Bavili. The Bavili, under their king Maluango, form a third part of the kingdom of Kongo, or the Fjort people, who are a section of the Bantu race. My head man Tati for example is of the family of Yanga of the royal province Buali of the Bavili of the KONGO kingdom of the Bantu race.

An individual may not leave his town without the permission of his father or of the Kongo Zovo, and upon his return he must present himself before him, to give an account of himself and show the proceeds of his fishing, hunting, or trading. He must obey and respect his chief, who may tie him up, chastise him, deprive him of food, but has no power of life and death over him—this right belonging in law only to the King Maluango. The Kongo Zovo can also requisition the services of all his family.

Section II.—Marriage.

We find the highest form of marriage to be that of Monogamy. That is to say Princesses whose offspring may become the future rulers of the kingdom, may not have more than one

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husband, whom she has the right to choose. He may be already married or not, but once selected he must put away his other wives and become the slave of the princess, who has the power of life and death over him. But when she dies this man inherits all her property. Maluango so long as he is simply Nganga Nvumbu [1] may have as many wives as he pleases, but once he has been crowned Maluango he is supplied with one wife, a princess of Ngoio (Cabinda in Kakongo) and must put away the others.

The people generally are polygynists, but there is a line drawn between the first wife and the others. The first is called Nkaci Ntete, the second and others Nkaci Sialila. A concubine is called Ndâia Xicinsu. An unchaste woman Ndumba.

Polyandry has not the legal character that it has among certain primitive peoples. With regard to Polygyny and its effect upon the condition of the woman, it is true that, apparently, certain women have always existed in this country who object very strongly to sharing a husband with others, and such are said to be bad women or women of spirit, Muntu 'Mbi. But as a rule the first wife asks her husband for women to help her in her work, and such a woman is called a good woman or creature, Muntu 'Mbote. There are constant quarrels among these wives, but the husband refuses to take sides, and would be looked upon as a fool if he interfered. Should the injured woman in these disputes appeal to an outsider or judge, as an arbitrator, he will refuse to have anything to do with it. She has no appeal in these matters. Mankind generally treats the affair with indifference.

Should a man promise to marry a girl, she can make him pay very heavily for breach of promise if he has touched her; if not, she can only slang and shame him. The man, however, cannot claim anything from the woman who breaks off an engagement, but she gets a bad name.

If the woman whom the man desires to marry is past the age of puberty and is able to judge for herself as to a man's parts, the man will first address himself to her. If the girl is still a child he goes to her father and mother in the first place. The proposal made, the father and mother discuss the matter.

[1] High priest.

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If they can find no objection to the young man and they think it well to allow their daughter to marry, they accept the young man's offer.

The young man then approaches his own parents and if they do not object, the mother, who keeps her son's savings for him, gives him the goods necessary to present to his future father and mother-in-law. These goods are given to the girl's parents in order to give the man a hold upon them in case they supply him with a worthless article as a wife. It covers their responsibility, which is a very great one, and gives the father the right on the other hand, after returning the exact amount presented, to take his daughter away from the husband, should he turn out to be a beast and illtreat her. There are two "marriage bundles": (1) Bukali in the olden days, 20 longs (say 10 francs) but now 100 longs and one demijohn of rum (say 60 francs). (2) Mpakete, in the olden days 10 longs, but to-day consisting of 50 longs and one demijohn of rum, 1 coat, 1 counterpane, 1 hat, 100 longs to mother's relations, and a present of 50 longs to the bride.

Certain families may not intermarry, as those of Xibanga and Maluango. Intertribal marriages were once totally prohibited, but to-day marriages take place although the offspring of such unions are looked upon much in the same prejudiced light by the Bavili as the offspring of black and white races are looked upon by the Europeans.

A woman who cannot plant is not allowed by her parents to marry. A known fool will not be accepted, and sickness is a bar. The goods bestowed on the parents of the proposed wife are called goods for marriage, Bindele Bi Kukwela, and not goods for barter, nor can the marriage be properly termed a marriage by purchase. The goods are accepted as a gage, or pledge, not as purchase money.

The "Bundle" having been given to the assenting parents, when the time comes or the girl arrives at the age of puberty, the bridegroom sends money to the parents so that the girl may be placed in the "paint house," where she undergoes certain rites of purification. The father's women folk then take the girl to the water and the Tukula or red paint is beaten off her with pliant switches or twigs. Then she is dressed and

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adorned with leg and arm rings of brass, necklaces of coral and other ornaments and taken to the expectant bridegroom. The dancing and singing that has commenced after the washing may be continued during the whole night. The husband gives certain presents to the father's relations who have brought him his bride. The next morning the husband presents his wife with a white handkerchief. Then the women again come and present the couple with food. The husband makes them a return present and the bride returns to her father's house. The husband then sends his father and mother to his father-in-law with a present to ask him to send him his wife. The father-in-law marks a day for her return to her husband, and gives certain presents to the father and mother of the husband, who return to their village. Upon the day mentioned the father-in-law takes his daughter back to his son-in-law with a present. Then in the presence of the husband's father and mother he exhorts him to follow in his good father's footsteps, then turning to his daughter he gives her good advice and hands her over finally to her husband.

The married couple now have two fathers and two mothers to whom they owe obedience and whom they must treat equally as members of one family, helping them all as children are expected to help their parents.

Should the woman be guilty of adultery the man may forgive his wife the first offence, but on the second occasion he will return her to her father, who must return the "pledge" money given to him. Should he discover the guilty man he may ask what indemnity he likes, and that man has to pay the fine even if he has to pawn himself as a hostage. The first time the husband is caught by the wife he may be forgiven, but the next time the wife reports the matter to her hurband's parents, and the man must pay. She may leave him for a time, but generally comes back to him. If not, and should it happen that the father finds her another husband, the pledge goes to her first husband. But the husband cannot make her father give back the original pledge. The wife has no claim on the woman who has committed adultery with her husband.

The male adulterer pays the fine, the husband alone inflicts

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it, and the amount is generally about equal to the pledge, but the actual amount rests with the husband.

As regards the duties of married persons, the woman plants, cooks, carries wood, and draws water ; the man looks after the religious and fetish rites of the family, closely allied to the treatment of his sick relations, and their burial, finds his wife in dress, fish, the chase, palm nuts, etc., builds her house and cuts the bush where she may have decided to plant.

Divorce.—Apart from the causes already mentioned, long absence and non-support bring about divorce or dissolution of marriage. In this case the wife, after having waited, say twelve months, for the return of her husband, seeks his father and mother and puts the situation before them. They advise her, and if they give their consent she goes back to her father and may re-marry. Upon the reappearance of the first husband the "pledge" is returned to him. So that divorce is looked upon as a family matter.

In the event of the parties being unable to agree, the father returns the "pledge" and they are free to marry again.

If the children are very young they go with the mother, but the daughters remain with the mother in any case, while the sons when old enough to do without the mother's care go to the father. The father has to do his part in sustaining the children.

Section III.—Concerning Relationship.

The different kinds of relationship are as follows :—

1. Their own children. Bana bana na veka.
2. The children of their elder brother. Bana ba ya yandi.
3. Their brother's children. Bana ba nkawmba andi.
4. Children of their uncle. Bana ba mama'ndi nkaci.
5. Children of their grandparents. Bana ba buta kak'andi.
6. Children of the father's sister. Bana ba nkaci.
7. Children of his nephew. Ntekulu u buta muana nkaci.
8. The children in pawn. Buti ci xivili i vanina.
9. The bought slaves. Ndongo i sumba.
10. The children of slaves. Bana ba xifula.

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The native law does not adopt the distinction of our civil law between legitimate, and natural children recognised by the father or otherwise. Birth sanctifies the child, and, as the child of its mother, it may become the inheritor of its uncle's property. As regards the general rule of succession it is not the eldest son but the wisest that inherits the property. But where the father of a family has been neglected by his relations, he sometimes takes his revenge on them by dividing his property among his children while he is yet alive. The mother has no property of her own, but is the guardian of that of her children, and should they die this goes to her family.

Both the father and mother watch over the interests of their children, and can punish them.

The mother alone has the right to pawn her child, but she must first consult the father, so that he may have the chance of giving her goods to save the pledging. The father cannot pledge his child. The brother can pawn his sister, or the uncle his niece, the mother being dead. But the father being alive the uncle must go first to him to give him the chance of helping him out of the difficulty by means of a loan of goods. If the uncle is what they call a bad man, the father will call witnesses to see the cloth that he is lending the uncle who would pawn his child, he takes up a kernel of the palm nut in their presence and drops it into his box ; which being interpreted means that he has bought his daughter. Until this debt is paid to the father the uncle cannot raise the wind on that child again. A person is never free from being pawned in this way.

Parental authority is really never lost, for the father has always the right to ransom the child, who never ceases to look to him as its father. But as the child often settles down in the village of its pawnee and becomes the parent of children, the amount needed to ransom it increases in proportion to the child's offspring. The debtor has to pay double the amount he borrowed and so much for every child. Even then the child may elect to remain where it is.

A child or children bereft of all family ties may be adopted by one of the father's friends, who calls it or them

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(Muana bika wali) the child my friend left. Under this kind of artificial parentage the adoptor can neither sell nor pawn this child, nor has he any hold on its earnings; it is a work of love and honour, but he looks to the gratitude of the child to make it up to him in some way or other.

Section IV.—Of Guardianship, of Emancipation, and Prohibition.

The French law recognises four kinds of guardianship:

1. That of the survivors of the fathers and mothers.
2. That by will conferred by the fathers or mothers dying last.
3. That of the next of kin.
4. That which is disposed of by a meeting of the family.

The Bavili recognise six forms of guardianship, in order:

1. The grandfather. Xinkaka xi andi.
2. The father's family. Xitata.
3. The mother's father. Xinkaka xibuta.
4. The mother's family. Mama ci andi.
5. The father's friend. U yukani tatitu.
6. The guardian appointed by the family. Nandi u yonzola muana u bika vumbi.

The guardian acts as a father to the child, but cannot touch its property, for, as already shown, that belongs to the mother's family. He is paid by the family upon delivering up the child according to his deserts,—whatever he asks for if all has turned out well, with little except shame if badly.

The family are the judges as to the time when the child shall be taken from its guardian, and that is generally when the child has grown up to manhood or womanhood. As the child's pro-father all that it has earned is his, or as much thereof as he likes to take.

Section V.—Concerning Property.

The best general idea that can be given of the native theory concerning property is given in their own words

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(Li kanda li ami) "my family," literally Kanda means to make straight, to tighten—Nkanda equals skin, *i.e.*, the natural part of man, or that part which he has in common with animals. As the saying goes, Muntu nkanda, xibula nkanda, muntu ua vioka mu ku bula mbembo. Man is of skin, the cattle are skin, man is only superior by speech.

The right of property is derived through the mother, the planter, to the Great Uncle the giver of all good gifts, Mbunzi, the W. wind, the rain giver, one of the Bakici baci or primeval "powers" on earth.

The Bavili have no word in their language to express proprietor or property. The nearest expression for proprietor is Fumu Bima, the chief or prince of all things. He may possess (Baka vua) money or goods (Mbongo) or things (Bima) or even land, Ci, but as Fumu ci, the land chief, he is the head of a family holding the land in trust for his people; while a possessor of goods is really a man who is only the temporary owner of things that belong to his Fumu.

Both kinds of goods, movable and immovable, have their uses, but one remains (Ci, *i.e.* the land), the other gets used up (Ma). The difference may be best explained by the words themselves, thus Ci has the meaning of primeval matter, the earth (Nci), while the primeval Ma or Maci equals water.

Wherever labour is implied the possessor has the right of the disposal of its fruits, or that part of it which his Fumu has given back to him or allowed him to keep. A man trades, the part allotted to him is his. The woman plants, that part which remains after feeding her husband and paying the tithes to the Fumu may be said to be hers. The plantation is hers on this understanding. That is to say, all sources of wealth carry their responsibilities with them, and all goods are rather in trust than actual possessions.

The right of usufruct is granted to the Kongo Zovo by the Prince, or to the individual by the Kongo Zovo on demand, and this may be for him and his descendants so

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long as they exist as a family, but no use or habitation gives a man the right to ownership. This usufruct may have been granted in the first place by right of birth, as a reward for service rendered, or on payment by a rich man on the extinction of the family on whose land he has been living. And just as the king of the country may depose the prince of the province, so the prince may take away this usufruct from a rebellious Kongo Zovo. The Kongo Zovo in his turn may revoke the usufruct of land or goods enjoyed by the individual.

Usufruct may be established by inheritance, gift, loan, and permission, on land, water, cloths, goods, fruit of the soil.

The Kongo Zovo has the use of the land and water for his family; in return for this (1) he must help the prince in his wars with armed men; (2) all leopards killed on the land must be sent to the prince; (3) the head and a leg of the antelope, the wild ox, and the pig killed must also be sent to him; (4) the backbone of any whale washed ashore, the heads of the sea fishes called Bafu, Ntala, Nqueci, Mbili, Mbuta, Muenji, Tobo; the water pig Ngulu Maci, and a small basket of fish from each net, must also be sent to the prince; (5) his women also must send him one-fifth of the palm nuts, and a basket of pea nuts and Indian corn harvested; (6) the rich man or Esina living upon the property is expected to give the prince a feast and presents every year.

In return for a gift of cloths or the loan of goods the recipient is expected to be at the beck and call of the one who gives, although he has no right to claim service. The receiver calls this man "my friend who gives me cloths to wear every day." U yukana yami u kalila u mpuika nlele kada xilumbu.

Those who are permitted to cut down the palm nuts or reap any of the unplanted fruits of the soil are rewarded by a certain share in the profits of their sale.

The usufruct comes to an end by the will of the prince, the Kongo Zovo, or the individual, although it is granted generally to the recipient and his successors so long as they exist and behave themselves.

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I have explained the duty of the individual to the Kongo Zovo, and of the Kongo Zovo to the Prince; there remains that of the Prince to the King. Maluango, as prince of the province of Buali, enjoys the same revenue as the princes of the other provinces, but as King he sends his messages to the princes to demand their aid in any emergency. He demands men in case of war, goods in case of need when one of the "powers" or Bakici baci have to be appealed to. The Prince must send him the skins of all animals killed, three pieces of chalk, 100 longs (or 50 francs goods), three saga ngo, and three mbongo lu tumbu or native money mats.

Roads running from the villages through the lands granted to the Kongo Zovo to the main roads are called Nzila Zi Nyawna, and are of a private nature, that is to say a stranger may be asked if met where he is going to, and if his reply is satisfactory he is allowed to proceed, if not he is asked to go by the public road, or Nzila Ivanga Nzambi, or God-created road.

These latter roads cross at Buali, the sacred and central province of the Bavili or Luango. The east road leads to the country of the Batetchi, and is called Nzila Xintetchi, the west leading to the sea, Nzila Mbu, the south, Nzila Kakongo, the north road, Nzila Balumbu. These are part of the public lands, as are also the sacred groves (Bibila), lakes, lagoons, rivers, bush, and ownerless lands.

Fishing, hunting, trees, native string, reeds, and the fruit of the soil not planted by the hand of man are common to the natives of the country.

The King holds the whole country in trust from God, through the "powers," for the use of the people.

White men may on certain conditions become users of the land and that which grows on it. The white man wishing to occupy land applies to the Kongo Zovo, who marks off the land put aside for his use. The white man then compensates the Kongo Zovo for his loss of use of the land, and the family for loss of use of the trees, etc. In the meantime the Kongo Zovo has warned the prince, who sends his Mafuka, Maxienji, and Mangova to visit the

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white man and witness the act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Kongo Zovo. They supply the white man with an interpreter, to whom they give the title of Mafuka or messenger. This man watches the interests of the white man and the prince conjointly. When the white man has returned the prince's messengers with small presents and has settled down a little, the prince, accompanied by his Mambuku, Mamboma, Mafuka, Maxienji, and Mangova and followers, comes to visit him officially.

The white man has to supply these six personages with chairs or stools, and should place upon the prince's chair a piece of checked cloth called the cloth of law.

The prince then bestows the land upon the white man and his successors. Thereupon the white man takes a position in the country equivalent to the Kongo Zovo, but instead of paying the prince in flesh and fish or the products of the soil, pays the prince so much in goods half yearly or yearly, as well as a certain small percentage on the produce he buys.

Section VI.—Of Successions, Gifts, and Wills.

On hearing of the death of a person all his relations come to "weep." The wife of the deceased delivers the key of the house, where the wealth is, to the man she knows in the absence of any will to be the rightful inheritor. These are:— 1. The brother of the deceased by the same mother. 2. Then the nephew by his sister. 3. The relations of his mother. 4. Failing these, his child. The wife he has loved and esteemed the most is the guardian of his wealth and the keeper of the key, but she inherits nothing.

The natural inheritor cannot repudiate his succession; he must take over the debts, not being able to renounce the inheritance.

When about to bury the deceased the inheritor plants a sword in the ground, before the assembled guests, and asks if there is anything more to be paid by him on behalf of the deceased. Any creditor present then goes up to the sword and placing his hand upon it declares that the deceased owes him money or goods, and that he will give particulars of the

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debt later on. These are considered as proved. Any creditor claiming his money after that must bring his witnesses, and be prepared to substantiate the debt. The wife generally knows all about the debts of her husband.

The wife mourns for her husband (or did) for 18 to 24 months after death; the burial of her husband often taking place about that time.

The members of the family generally help to pay the expenses of the ceremonies in connection with the death of the Kongo Zovo; they then stay with the inheritor or disperse to the families of their mothers. They inherit nothing from the Kongo Zovo except by will.

A man may give away his property during his life, or make his verbal will in the presence of his wife and witnesses. He will call his slaves and tell them that they have been given to so-and-so. Or he may call his children and let them choose their slaves or goods. But this is seldom done, and only to spite the family of his people who may have behaved badly to him.

The gift is made in the presence of witnesses, and is revocable until the death of the giver, if it is to take effect only after death. But a simple gift between the living is irrevocable.

There are no special forms to be observed when a will is made; it is held to be written in the heart of the wife who has the key.

The wife and the witnesses are the executors of the will. The family will often make the widow pass before their fetishes and swear that she is keeping nothing back. They sometimes go further and force her to take "casca"[1] as a test of her honesty.

There can be no revocation of the last will, the matter rests with the wife and witnesses once the husband is dead.

Section VII.—Of Contracts.

Contracts may be enumerated as follows:—Those between the King and his neighbours, those between prince and King, those between prince and prince, those between prince and Kongo Zovo, and those between individuals.

[1] Bark of NKASA.

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Treaties or contracts between Kings are brought about by a third party or mutual friend, who acts as intermediary and witness. Between the King or prince and his inferior, the inferior gives the superior a present, and in the presence of witnesses "claps his hands," "Kalambala nkele maluango nkici." On the creation of a market a gun is buried, and an agreement made that no arms of any sort may be brought there, and this is done in the presence of witnesses. Between individuals no contract is legal unless made in the presence of witnesses. These compacts are known by the words Nkaka or Nkankano.

The one thing in all these compacts that is essential is that witnesses shall be present, and when it is proposed to cancel a contract the contracting parties buy "malafu" (palm wine) in equal quantities, but deposited in one bottle or other vessel, and then in the presence of witnesses drink and agree to cancel the compact. But in the case of one of the parties refusing to annul the contract, the matter is taken before two or three chiefs or princes and talked out. In the event of the dispute arising out of inequality of service rendered, the division of profits is rearranged, or the contract declared then and there null and void.

All goods, Bima, are freely bought and sold except men, Bantu, the sale of men being a family affair.

A sale becomes definite after the transaction has been accomplished in the presence of witnesses, and the seller has "blessed it." He lifts his hands to his arm-pits, and then throws them out towards the buyer, and breathes or blows over the thing sold. This is called Ku vana mula, to give the breath, and is equivalent to saying "God bless thee."

Mbongo Masandi (or a piece of grass cloth measuring in length, including fringe, 45 centimetres, and about 25 centimetres in breadth) has been in use as money from time immemorial, although at present it may be said to be out of use, the French coinage gradually taking its place. Four of these small mats were wrapped in one bundle, Vili, and five of these bundles (20 mats) were called Milele Mbongo I Tanu. Ten bundles (40 Vili) Mbongo Fula.

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One hundred Mbongo Fula (4,000 Vili) were called Kama Mbongo. This was the price of a little slave of about five years of age. This equalled 8 fathoms of cloth, or about 16 yards, or four francs, that is to say, 1 Vili was equivalent to ·001 centime. The white traders' cloth is now doubled in 12 folds; three folds equals 1 long or "cortado"; and 4 longs or cortados form a piece of cloth sold for two francs. That is to say, one piece of 8 yards 21 inches wide is doubled into 12 folds or 24 laps.

Native custom allows the letting out on hire of men as of things. A native in need of labour might seek a large slave owner and hire slaves or others for the sum of five longs, the duration of the service not being definitely settled. Should one of these slaves die during the service, the hirer had to pass before the fetishes and declare that he had had no hand in his death. Under these circumstances he would pay the owner 20 longs. But if he had wilfully caused the death of the slave, he would have to pay 5 to 10 slaves in his place according to his wealth. The price of the grown slave was 5 times Kama Mbongo or 40 fathoms of cloth Kama Buta. This payment was called Ku Futa Li Bumi. (To pay that which is wasted.)

Slaves are termed children of the "cloth," or Muana Ntu ("the son of the head," in reference to the slave as the carrier). The owner is not expected to force a slave to do that which is wrong (Lu Kasu), but if he does the slave must do it, as his master has the right to kill him if he does not, and is himself responsible for the slave's action.

The domestic servants of a rich man are called Bavinji. A father may ask a friend to take his son as servant and teach him all he knows. Such a boy is called Xileci. The head boy or steward is called Xileci Xi Busu.

There is no lending at interest in our sense of the word. Where a man borrows goods he must pay back double the amount borrowed, no matter for how long a time he has owed them. Unless a certain date for the return of the goods is mentioned, the debt may continue for years. The writer knows of one case where a debt was 15 years old.

A man may lease his cattle to another under the following

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recognised conditions :—First increase goes to the owner; of the second the caretaker takes a female; of the third a male; the fourth goes to the owner.

A man may commission another to carry on trade for him. He gives him exact instructions, paying him half the profits, but exacts from him or his family any loss incurred. The sender is responsible to the family for any evil that may overtake the one sent provided that it cannot be shown that the evil was the consequence of his own folly. A man on leaving the country may commission his friend to act for him, but the service requested must be mentioned to the man commissioned in the presence of witnesses, and he may only act for him in that particular instance or on that occasion. No procuration to act generally for another is ever given. A present is given to one so acting for another, where no profit can be expected. The act or service accomplished and the profits shared or present given, ends the commission. The family being responsible, no general procuration is needed, for it rests with them always as a matter of fact.

In the event of a time for the repayment of a debt having been fixed, the creditor asks for payment, and if this is put off or refused he has the right to arrest anyone belonging to the debtor's family. This person is held until the matter has been publicly settled by palaver in the courts of law, when, the debt being paid, the prisoner is set at liberty. The person thus arrested is not necessarily of the same family as the debtor, but he should be of a family in the same princedom or province, that is some one living not very far from the debtor. This captive receives payment from the debtor quite apart from the creditor, but as the result of the judgment of the same palaver. And this is the only form of security for the payment of a debt which the native law provides for.

PART II

CRIMINAL LAW

Section I.—Of Infraction.

The Bavili have a very distinct idea of the moral and natural law, and classify their sins into five distinct sections of the one

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great class of laws called Xina or things forbidden, sometimes spoken of as Ka Zila, no road.

The first section is called Xina Xivanga Nzambi, or that which is contrary to God the creator. The sign of this is Mawso, the tail of the ox, the sign of office of the Kongo Zovo.

The second is found in the horror the native has (or had) of being photographed, and in the mágic glass of the Nganga Nyambi, who alone is allowed to look into it, to discover the successor of the defunct Maluango, made, as they say in the image of God. This mirror-gazing is called Ku Sala Fumu.

The third we find in the way the mothers correct their children when they talk foolishly of God, this they call Xibika Bakulu.

In illustration of the fourth class. On the fourth day the prince, Kongo Zovo, or father, may have no connection with his wife, he may not go outside of his town, he may not hold a palaver. The doctor or Nganga Bilongo may not bleed his patient. The women may not work in the fields. All this is called Sona.

The fifth comprises all those ceremonies and things forbidden concerning maternity. A woman must not sleep with her husband on the ground. A girl must not have connection with a man before she has passed through the "paint house." No dishonour to their parents must be thought of. All this is summed up in the word 'Ngo, the leopard.

These foregoing five Bina (plural of Xina) are summed up as Xina Va Xi Fumba.

The sixth, to kill, is called Ku Vawnda.

The seventh, to commit adultery, Ku Bawnga.

The eighth, to steal, Ku Kuba.

The ninth to bear false witness, Xi Buta Mambu.

These four are called Xina Nkaka.

Not to covet, to remember that all under the market tree is sacred, and that this tree is also the last resting place of the body of the defunct Maluango on the way to the burial, after having held the "Seven" well in hand according to the will of God. All this is called Xina Nsotchi or Nsoxi.

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Finally, we come to that class Aza Bina, or totems, by which the natives know whom they may marry and whom not, as already mentioned in Section II., *i.e.*, a man may not marry a woman whose Xina or totem is the same as that of his mother's family. This class is called Xina Mvila. As in the case of the Hebrews, so in that of the Bavili contravention of these laws is believed to be punished by God, by His withholding the rains in due season. Hence the necessity of the offerings made to the "powers" representing the attributes of God on earth, or Ba Kici Baci, of which Maluango is one under the title of Nkicici.

The father, the Kongo Zovo, or the village are responsible in the event of the delinquent's non-arrest, and even then they must pay their share of the fine, or sell the prisoner into slavery, if he is not rich enough to pay the fine himself.

Children and fools or idiots are not responsible personally for their actions, but the injured party can claim compensation if he likes from the parents.

Killing, etc., in self-defence, robbery of plantations when very hungry, when no deception or secrecy is practised, are regarded as justifiable facts. In each case, however, payment for damage done is expected.

Section II.—Of Punishment.

The idea of the damage done to God, King, prince, father, neighbour, is the ground of the punishment inflicted. The punishment itself being a payment to satisfy the party injured. And this is shown by the fact, that except in the case of children who are chastised, payment in money, kind, or goods is first demanded. But *pay* you or your family must, if not in money, then by being sold into slavery, or by becoming the slave of the injured party. A man condemned to death may not be slain if there is one dissenting voice in his village. Under these circumstances a goat is killed in his stead. A piece of this goat is given to every member of the community and the culprit is sold. When it is decided to kill the murderer or culprit, the Kongo Zovo, or the prince, must hand the person over to Mamboma, and he hands him to Maluango,

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who calls his Mankaka (or executioner), and the latter cuts off his head.

Generally speaking, payment in a greater or less degree according to the crime is the rule as to form of punishment. The only exceptions to the above are,—When a man sleeps with a child not yet arrived at the age of puberty (Xina Xinselo) and so causes the wrath of God and a drought and consequent famine. Or when a man presumes to commit adultery with the wife of a prince (Ku sumuna nkawci Luango i matali) to sin against the wife and the royal rites of marriage. In these cases the culprits, male and female, are entirely in the hands of the Maluango, and they are bound hands and feet and cast into the fire. Witches who have taken "casca" and have been proved guilty are also burnt. But even in these extreme cases Maluango can spare their lives.

In the event of the crime being considered as in part justified by circumstances, or in the case of a crime being committed without intention (Mamu Ma Bakici), on the spur of the moment, by a hitherto good man, the King will take him on one side and reason with him, pointing out that he has broken the law and must pay, but only in part, warning him to be more careful in the future.

Slavery may be substituted for either death or non-payment.

The accomplice is reckoned as blamable as the actual criminal, but the instigator pays more than either, on the principle that a slave does his master's bidding, and that the master is responsible for his actions.

Each crime has its penalty, but in the event of a man becoming an habitual criminal the penalties may increase to such an extent as to make it worth while on the part of the family to sell or kill the criminal to get him out of the way.

PART III

JUDICIAL ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

Section I.

In simple matters a third party is asked in the presence of witnesses to judge between the two parties; if they are

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not satisfied with this and the palaver is between two of one family the father may judge the matter. If the question is between two of the same Kongo Zovo then this chief may settle it. If between two of different Kongo Zovo then the prince. If between two of different provinces then the question is taken to Mamboma, and this prince takes it before the king Maluango on the day that the latter has marked off for the hearing of the case. Maluango's Court is the final court of appeal in a natural sense, although he may admit that the case is beyond his powers and refer the parties to the tests by ordeal.

In an ordinary palaver each party puts his side of the question before the third party or Reasoner, called Nzonzi. In case of appeal the Nzonzi appears before Maluango and explains the case to him from beginning to end. If one of the parties lives to the North of Buali (that is Maluango's province), and the other to the South, then Maluango sits with his back to the East. If the parties live East and West then he sits facing the South. The Nzonzi then stands at the opposite side of a hollow square, the defendant (Ntunyi) and his party, and the plaintiff (Nqwika) and his party, seat themselves at the right or left of Maluango, according to the direction in which their towns lie. To talk a palaver, or rather sit it, is called Ku Funda Nkano. The people reasoning it out, or the two parties, are called Bana Bankano.

The place where the palavers are held may be under a shed or a tree, and is called Nganda Tela Li Misamu.

The natives recognise at least five kinds of palavers.

1. Concerning the rains and the "powers" (Ku Fwika Mambu Ma Ci).

2. Between the princes concerning the land (Ku Funda NKANOCI).

3. To clear up an intrigue between friends and find out who is at the bottom of it (Ku Zinga Cina).

4. Civil (Mi Samu Ku Sosubula).

5. Criminal (Nkano Ku Funda).

As the judges are the Chiefs, Princes, and King of the country they have no special prerogatives or duties apart from their governing offices.

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Generally speaking, each party has an advocate to plead the cause. This advocate is called Nanga.

The attendants or helpers of the judges are those entitled to hold these offices as Chiefs.

Maluango has seven titles, 12 followers, six kinds of Zi-Nganga. Mamboma has two titles of his own and people filling up the other titles of Maluango, except that of Nkicici, which, in Mamboma's court, is not represented. Then he has also 12 followers and six Nganga in connection with the trials by ordeal.

The followers that the Manifumus of the provinces have in common with Maluango and his Mamboma are :—

1. Mamboma.
2. Mbuku.
3. Mafuku.
4. Maxienji.
5. Mangova.

Maluango's signs of office are :—

1. Silver knife (Ximpaba).
2. 1 hat (Mpu Ntanda).
3. 1 cape (Xisemba).

his Mamboma :—

1. iron (Ximpaba).
2. 1 hat (Mpu Nzita).
3. 1 cape (Xisemba).

his Mankaka (executioner) :—

1. sword (Mbele).
2. hat (Mpu Xikumbu).
3. A long cloth (Xinzobolo).

The prince of a province (and Maluango as such) :—

1. ivory horn.
2. iron bell.
3. hat (Mpu Nzita).
4. cape (Xisemba).

Kongo Zovo :—

1. the tail of an ox.
2. hat (Mpu Ngunda).
3. cape (Xisemba).

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The condition of the plaintiff or defendant does not determine the composition of the palavers and there is no exceptional jurisdiction.

The judge alone is allowed to settle a palaver. The number of helpers or assessors is according to the importance of the palaver.

Section II.

The palaver commences by each party stating his own case, and where there are advocates (ZINANGA), each advocate is instructed by his client beforehand, but may be reminded of any point during the proceedings.

Anyone may sit down and listen to the palaver, and the judgment is very quickly spread about by report.

The procedure, Civil and Criminal, is much as it existed in Europe in barbarous times, ordeals being used instead of legal proceedings where one of the parties fears that his opponent may take an unfair advantage of his poverty, or when legal proceedings have not been successful in clearing the matter up and as a kind of last appeal.

A man is not forced to answer any question until the palaver is held. The head of a family may put one of his people in the yoke or whip him to get him to tell the truth, but torture in legal matters is unknown.

In opening the palaver the prince claps his hands and says, Ngo Ngo Ngo ngete Nzambi twa dukuna,[1] and thus greets all that are present in the name of God. Then he asks for a drink, and each party gives the same quantity. He then calls on the NANGA to state the case (mayanga manzoa).[2] He swears by the fetish present to speak the truth, and then having stated the case, hands the parties over to the King Judge (Nkunzi). The King then orders the plaintiff to speak, which he does after "beating the fetish," and insisting upon its not allowing the defendant to interrupt him before his time to speak arrives. When both have finished they both "beat" the fetish, and agree to abide by the judgment of the King. If it is felt that the palaver

[1] Literally, "Leopard, leopard, leopard, yes, O Nzambi, to keep on extracting."
[2] Statement of the case.

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cannot be finished by "mouth," they call in the Nganga Bisengo, or Nganga Mbele Ku Mbazu, or Nganga Mbundu Ncitu, who divines who is guilty.

1. In the case of Mbundu Ncitu (a herb) one of each party is called upon to appear before the Nganga. The Nganga first takes the herb himself, and then falls down in the direction of the guilty party. He informs the prince of the fact. The prince then says it will be best to let each party eat the Mbundu Ncitu. This they do; the guilty party falls down, the innocent lets three drops of urine fall on a leaf that is placed between the legs of each party. (This is not the same as the Nganga Nkasa who gives the casca to witches.)

2. Nganga Bisengo has a little box with a tight-fitting lid, which refuses to be parted from the box when the party present is guilty.

3. Nganga Mbele has a heated knife, which will only burn the guilty party.

After judgment the two parties called by the Nganga are brought just as they are to the assembly, and each side takes his representative. The King then tells the culprit how much he has to pay, and the day upon which the payment must be made in his presence. When the payment is made the judge asks them both if they are satisfied, and if the judge is Maluango they place their hands on the ground under his chair, and swear to let bye-gones be bye-gones; if the judge is a Kongo Zovo they put their hands on his head and swear. And after a few words of advice and warning the palaver is finished.

Each day that the palaver lasts, each party pays the judge one large calabash of palm wine. When the judgment is given each party pays Kama (100 mats or cubits, see page 62), ZIMBONGO per diem.

Corporal punishment, as has been stated, is a matter for the father to inflict in his village, refractory prisoners are put in the yoke for the time being, but there are no prisons, and the slave or pawn is just as free of the village as any of the inhabitants.

The prisoner directed to pay a fine or expenses becomes

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the slave or pawn to the creditor until the amount is paid by his family.

There is very little to alter in either the composition or procedure of the native courts, they are the outcome of thousands of years of accumulated experience of a people who know themselves and their needs. Rather do the natives need a taking back to their ancient customs, before the "slave trade" and its abuses destroyed so much of their natural beauty. While some natives may have benefited by their contact with the white races, it is certain that the ignorance of the latter of their ways of thought and action has done the race a great deal of injury, which only time and study can possibly repair.

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CHAPTER VI

MEASURES, SIGNS, AND SYMBOLS

Palavers.—Counting on the Hands.—The Fingers.—Lineal Measures.—The Shroud.—Duodecimal System.—Time.—Days and Months.—Sexual Matters.—The Seasons.—Praying for Rain.—Symbols.—Drum Language.

PROCEDURE OF PALAVERS, COUNTING.

IF I had not read Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister's *Studies in Irish Epigraphy* and had been asked to decipher an Ogham inscription, I should have had no hesitation in saying that it was a record of some ancient African palaver. When the Bavili hold their palavers, after having met and settled down as described by me in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*,[1] the party on either side smooth the earth just in front of them. Upon this smoothed ground they keep count of all the points in the arguments in the palaver for and against.

No. 1 begins by stating the case; and as he opens the palaver he makes a point with the tip of his index-finger upon the ground. He then states that so-and-so has robbed him, and this statement he marks by a stroke which he places just after the dot, thus :—

.I

Then No. 2 defends himself, and as he does so No. 1 marks the points in his defence by strokes below a line he draws to divide his side of the question from that of the accused. The palaver then might stand thus :—

.I

III

[1] And in *Laws of the Bavili.*

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No. 1 then answers these denials or justifications of the robbery, and as he does so makes his strokes above the line :—

.I III
III

Then No. 1 gives his proofs, but first makes a dot to show that another phase of the palaver has been entered upon, and another oration commenced :—

.I III.IIIII
III

No. 2 answers him, restating his case :—

.I III.IIIII
III IIIII.III

No. 1 then sums up, and as it is getting late, cuts the palaver for the day ; so that, if this " tally " had been kept on stone or wood, the palaver, as far as it had gone, would appear as under :—

.I III.IIIII I
III IIIII.III II

The cutting of the line, or closing of the palaver, is done by drawing a double line with the index and next finger across the dividing line.

Now, in counting, the Bavili mark the ground also, and all this they call " Bisona bintawto," writing on the ground. In counting they make four strokes on the ground, and the fifth they make by crossing the four upright strokes, thus :

No. 1 he marks with his index-finger ; No. 2 with his second, covering the first mark with the index-finger. No. 3 he marks with his index-finger ; No. 4 sometimes with his index-finger and sometimes with his second finger, running over No. 3 with his index-finger ; No. 5, as stated, by crossing the four strokes.

Sometimes he will count by tens. Then he marks two strokes with his index and second fingers, and so on five times, and then he makes a stroke apart to show that he has counted ten. Each ten are marked in this way, until the whole number of things are counted. Then he will count the

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number of strokes and declare the number counted. But when he counts on his fingers he begins by placing the index-finger of his right hand upon the little finger of his left hand.

I found that both the Bavili (of Luango) and the BAKOTCHI of Kakongo had their variants of the old nursery rime for fingers or toes. I will give them both, as they differ.

BAVILI.

1. *Second Finger* (no name)
 Minu i kula i kula e fuana i munto Ko
2. *Index-Finger* (Luzala xiso anzo)
 Minu xilandi Xiaku
3. *Third Finger* (no name)
 Oho nu kulila ngolo ximbixi mibakaci?
4. *Little Finger* (Luzala lu sa)
 Bene boso nu kulila minu unkuluntu inu?
5. *Thumb* (Luzala mbo mbo)
 Buãu i mangina lu nãungu lu inu lu keli inu buãu i botokula mundonga inu.

TRANSLATION.

1. There is no man so tall or equal to me.
2. Index-finger:
 I am the one that follows.
3. 3rd Finger:
 How much do you gain by being taller and stronger?
4. Little Finger: a very old man, they say, the primeval:
 What do you all gain by being tall? I am thy chief.
5. The Thumb:
 For this reason I who am not your equal am by myself, for this I left you (on account of constant strife).

THE KAKONGO VERSION.

The first two lines are the same.
3. Ayi nguli, ayi muna, tate, ximbixi nubakac?
4. Nsambixi nkotala ku nkwandi tata i nguli?
5. Lu naungu lu inu i yaka na mundonga inu.

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TRANSLATION:

1. There is no man equal or as tall as I am.
2. I come after thee.
3. And what do you gain by it, Mother and Father?
4. Why does he raise the question (of?) his Father and Mother?
5. Your one apart is your slave.

The Kabinda woman who gave me the Kakongo version explained that the little finger claimed to be the chief (or the first?) because the little finger and the "tragus" of the ear were the first parts of a child in conception to be formed.

The Bavili use beads also to count with (BILABU or the blue glass beads); LABU as père Visseg tells us is the most subtle part of fire.

Thus (to-day rarely but) twenty years ago generally if you watched the Bavili counting you would notice that when he counted one he would put two beads on the ground, two, two more, and so on until he had counted four, when he would place two apart. These he would amass, and then place two beads on one side, so that when he had counted eight he would have two heaps of ten each plus four beads or 24 in all. These he would amass again and place one on one side (25 or one generation) so that when he had counted forty he reaily had $80+16+4=100$.

Now the word for ten is KUMI (from KUMA to cause, to reason) and ten is the square root of KAMA, a word meaning (the royal wife and) 100.

The smallest measure that I know of is what the natives call XITINI, that is from the tip of the middle finger to the bottom of its joint or its root in the palm of the hand. It measures two nails or $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is used in measuring tobacco, long strings of which are cut up into these BITINI. The value of the XITINI of tobacco was 36 BILABU or beads, two Bitini make one MBOKANA (palm) and two MBOKANA make one LUBONGO ZIFULA (or a piece or native grass cloth measuring 18 inches or a cubit). Its value being 144 beads.

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2 ZIMBONGO = 1 MAKABA or yard.
2 MAKABA = 1 NTAMA or fathom, and this may be said to be their standard measure.

Three NTAMA (or 12 mats in one bundle) = one MBONDO, while four MBONDO = one NLELE BIFUNZI (or 48 mats) or the bundle that a man is expected to contribute towards any of his wife's near relations' funeral expenses. These mats are sewn together also for the purpose of shrouds, thus six mats make a SAMBANO, complete cloth, four of which are sewn together to look as if there were only three to make a shroud, That is to say, two are first sewn together, then two more, and one of the latter is allowed to fall on one of the former just to cover it and then sewn that way, so that one complete shroud is composed of 24 pieces or ZIMBONGO ZIFULA.

The King is first wrapped in one shroud (24 cubits). After an interval when his body has been dried, he is wrapped in three shrouds (72 cubits), and finally, just before burial in six shrouds, or 144 cubits. The NLELE BIFUNZI is valued at 7,200 beads.

120 Beads = 1 LOMBI or string.
1,440 „ or 12 MILOMBI = 1 XIKO or a bunch (50).
14,400 „ or 10 BIKO = 1 NSUKU or KAMA (100).
144,000 „ or 10 MISUKU = 1 XIVEVE (1000).

In the olden days cottons were sent out in accordance with the demand of the natives in pieces 24 yards long doubled in 24 laps or 12 folds. In 1880 the length was 20 yards, in 1883 it went down to 18 yards, and latterly, when the trader was obliged to pay import dues and taxes to the different Governments, the length quickly fell to eight yards.

In the same way the Germans sent out strings of only 100 beads (believing in the superiority of the decimal system) until at last the natives refused to receive them in exchange for ivory.

The sun and moon are the great time markers of the Bavili, the heavens their mighty clock.

They divide the night and day into 12 periods of two hours each. They call this period LO or rather XELO a cutting (plural BILO).

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From 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. they call XELO XITOMBE XITOMBE or the little darkness.
„ 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. they call XELO XITOMBE darkness.
„ 10 p.m. to 12 p.m. XELO KATA XIBWICI.
„ 12 a.m. to 2 a.m. MIXELO-XELO the little cuttings.
„ 2 a.m. to 4 a.m. MWECI XELO the smoke cutting.
„ 4 a.m. to 6 a.m. MWECI smoke or the revealer.
„ 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. MBOTA MAULA the star MAULA.
„ 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. LUBACI LUASEKA of the custom of the people of corruption.
„ 10 a.m. to 12 a.m. MENE NGWALI (early partridge) morning.
„ 12 p.m. to 2 p.m. TANGA MBATA to count the stroke, to throb.
„ 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. MBUKU LUBWICI the birth of the falling.
„ 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. TANGA MACIKA to count the sinking.

The night they call the deep of the heavens, BUILU; the day, LUMBU, of the custom of the deep.

There are four days in the week.

(1) NDUKA, the day when palavers are finished.

(2) NTONA. The day when women do not plant, and burials take place, followed by the dance MASUKU.

(3) CILO. The day when the family fetishes MPUMBU, NGOFO and XIMPUKA are consulted about death palavers, and Manioc is taken out of the water.

(4) SONA. Perhaps short for SUNGA virtue. The day when no one is allowed to pass the NKUMBI tree save women going for water. Man's day of rest, the women's market day. Only women sell in the market.

Thus there are seven weeks in the Bavili month. His year is composed of thirteen months, which he divides into three great divisions, one of one month, one of four months, and one of eight. MAWALALA, XICIFU, and NVULA is the beginning and end of the year, the dry season and the rainy season. And there are three great Zinganga presiding over

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these three divisions of the year. NGANGA NVUMBA the King, NGANGA BUNCI, who doctors sterility in men, and NGANGA FUNZA, who doctors barren women so that they may become fruitful. MAWALALA is also a season.

The other twelve months are then arranged into six seasons as under :—

The season MWICI (smoke) produces as food the pea, NKASA and the names of the two months in this time are BULU MACI MAVOLA (the deep of rain water), and BULU MACI MBU (the deep of the sea waters).

The next season is BUNJI (literal meaning mist) producing the new green grass called MBUNDUBUNDU.

The two months in this season are called BIKA LI MUANDA XICIVU (to leave the valley of mist) and MUANDA XICIVU (the valley of mist).

During the season MWICI the men hunt and fish while the women gather FUBU leaves for their mat and basket work. The season BUNJI is devoted by the men to the burning of the grass, hunting, and cutting down of the forests to form new plantations, while the women busy themselves in the making of mats and baskets.

The season of drizzling rains is called MVUMVUVU, and it produces BUKU or mushrooms. The names of the months are KUFULU NKACI and KUFULU NUNI (negative and positive burning or desire).

This season is occupied by the men putting new roofs on their houses and repairing them generally, while the women sow their seed and prepare to plant manioc and sweet potatoes. It is now that the BAVILI'S thoughts turn lightly to love and marriage, and as a great deal of false modesty is to be noticed in the writings of some authors of books about the Kongo, and as it leads to a good deal of misunderstanding,[1] it may be well to state clearly what the ideas of the Bavili are on this subject.

The great power BUNZI objects strongly to unmarried women; increase and multiply are his standing orders. Virginity therefore after one has come to the age of puberty

[1] I mention this because in one translation of the Gospels the Virgin Mary is called NDUMBA.

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is almost unknown, and is not a state which a woman can be proud of. When speaking of the virgin earth the Bavili say ANCI I BUNA I BUTICI XIMAKA, "the earth as yet has not brought forth anything," but speaking of a maiden they say XINKUMBI I BUNA KU NETA XIVUMU KO, "the maiden's stomach has not yet carried anything." A child before it arrives at the age of puberty is called XINKUMBA, but when she has arrived at that age and is still a virgin she is called XIKUMBI XIMBUILA. A woman who has lost her virtue is called NDUMBA. The name for an ordinary wife is NKACI, a royal wife NKAMA.

The next season is that of the WAW WAW WAW rains, and it produces the KUSAFU or NSAFU, a small green fruit something like a date in shape. KACI MBANGALA and NUNI MBANGALA, *i.e.*, the negative and positive witness, are the names of the months. The name of these rains is also an exclamation used to express "listen! look! as it was, so it is again, the thief!"

MBANGALA carries with it the idea of exposure and the fear that causes one to run away (WANGALA). KUSAFU means the exhibiting or the sprouting of the tree.

The next season is that of the female rains NVULA NXENTU, and this brings forth fruit MAKUNDI. The months are BIKA LI MUANDA SUNJI and MUANDA SUNJI.

During the month of BIKA LI MUANDA SUNJI the female rains hurry on all fruit to a state of ripeness, so that when they cease in the next month (the little dry season) the people can gather in their harvest. It is said to leave sufficient moisture in the ground to last over the month of MUANDA SUNJI.

Just before the new moon that heralds in this last month (the seventh month of the Hebrews) the Bavili gather the large leaves of the herb LEMBELEMBE, and with them cover up their fetishes; this they call KUBATA BAKICI. These then remain covered until the next new moon appears, when, after having chewed the pepper NXEFU ZIMPUMBU and the leaves of the LUSAKU-SAKU, the Bavili splutter the contents of their mouths upon them to wake them up; this they call KUSAKA MUNA BAKICI.

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MAKUNDI = fruits. KUNDA is to do homage by throwing oneself on the ground and rubbing the earth with the sides of the palms of one's hands and then touching the sides of one's face with them. MUANDA SUNJI = the deep, valley, or soul of the cycle. SUNJI NDUNGO is the skin that is stretched over the hollow of the drum. SUNJIKA is to clear up and straighten (a complicated palaver).

NSUNJI YADUKA means the cycle is ended, referring to the end of a season or a year. Such is the picture of fruitfulness, as the result of pregnancy caused by the life-saving rains.

The last season is that of the male rains, NVULA MBAKALA, producing the palm kernel MBA, and comprising the months NDOLO NKACI and NDOLO NUNI.

And this is the end of the cycle of seasons.

PRAYING FOR RAIN IN FJORTLAND (KONGO).

The rainy season should commence in the Kongo about the middle of the month of September, that is, in the month called Kufulu Nkaci (negative desire), but in 1898 the rains came a little before their time, and the old men looked sadly on and prophesied a drought. Month followed month and scarce a shower fell, and the people began to cry out against their rulers for having neglected their duty to their Bakici Baci, or primeval powers on earth, of which Nzambi or God is the personal essence or spirit. In 1896 the same thing occurred and a famine scoured the land; the people blamed Nganga Vumba, or their king elect, who had not yet been crowned Maluango, and that poor old man left his Xibila (sacred ground) in the province of Buali and sought refuge in his natal village. This year, Maluango existing but in name, the slave Mamboma is acting in his place. Thus in answer to the cry of the people the sacred groves of Nyambi (vis vitæ) the nephew of Bunzi in Kakongo, the south wind and the giver of rain, and that of Senza, the west wind, were cleaned up and once more put in order; and the goods necessary were collected by him (Mamboma) and sent in the name of Maluango to Bunzi to pray him to send the rain

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to the now parched country of the Bavili (people of Luango). Bunzi received their gifts, but Nzambi heard not their prayer, and the rain came not.

After an eloquent sermon at the mission a priest informed the congregation that special prayers would be offered to Almighty God that He might be pleased to forgive the sins of the people and send them rain, but the good priest reminded them that their sins might be such that God could not overlook, and so He might, in spite of the prayers of the faithful, refuse to grant their petition. And God did not hear their prayers, and no rain came.

And the Zi Nganga, or priests of the groves of Nyambi and Senza, sought hard for the cause of God's wrath, and they divined that it was on account of the immorality of certain persons unknown, who were ignoring the traditions and laws of their God and country. Then Mamboma sent word to his Kongo Zovo, or chiefs, that there were people in their towns who were the cause of God's wrath. And the Kongo Zovo each in his district called his people together and bid them make the necessary inquiries. And it was discovered that three girls were pregnant, who had ignored the customs of their country and had been defiled by men before having passed through the "paint-house."

As there is much misconception abroad about this custom of putting maidens into the paint house, originating no doubt in the first impressions of people who without a proper study of the subject have concluded that it must be bad because it is a custom of a people living in a different stage of civilisation from their own, let us digress for a moment to describe it. We in England know what it is to suffer from the vicious fables of ignorant scribes bent on informing the Continental public of all the evil that exists amongst us. We cannot blame the public in question for the opinions they have formed of us, we can only pity them, and curse the idiots who have only studied one side of our character, or who have come to us so prejudiced that even our virtues are distorted by them into some cute scheme of the devil to put them off what to them may seem a true appreciation of our character. So it is with the European and the African generally; the

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European is white and therefore pure, the African black and therefore impure. And all the good we find in him, we proudly put down, not to the influence of God who has been with him from the beginning, but to our own good influence. And so, when we drop from our atmosphere of twentieth century refinement and find ourselves after a few days' sea voyage in the middle of twelfth and thirteenth century frankness, we are apt to see sin and immodesty where really neither exists.

At the first signs of puberty the maiden's (xikumbi) family rejoice, and the men fire off their guns. Then a small hut or shed is built outside the town for the girl. The hair of her head is shaved off and her whole body is covered with takula, or the powdered red wood mixed with water. Thus painted the maiden retires with friends of hers who have already gone through the ceremony to the little hut. Here she is presented with a fowl, or if the family cannot afford this, an egg. The maiden rests here for six days while her companions watch and amuse and feed her during the day, serving her as if she were a princess, and at night singing and dancing to the music of the misunga (the great dried pod of the Baobab tree).

In the meantime a nice shimbec or hut is built for her in town, wherein two beds are placed. Upon one of these, accompanied by two of her older friends, the maiden sleeps, while the other is placed at the disposal of her other and younger friends. Each day she twice submits to the painting process, and for four or five months is not permitted to work in any way.

When the time comes for her to be handed over to her husband, one of his relations proceeds to this shimbec at the break of day, and pulls her bed out of the hut by one of its legs. If she is not yet engaged to be married, then it is her father who pulls the bed out into the open. Then all the women of the maiden's family, carrying umbrellas and clean clothes and ornaments for her, take her down to the salt water, and beat the paint off her with pliant twigs; then they proceed to the nearest fresh water stream and wash and dress. The maiden's legs are loaded with great brass

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rings, her arms with smaller ones, while her neck and waist are hung with all the family's coral, across her breast a coloured handkerchief is hung, and the general colour of the cloth or skirts hanging to her waist is red ; an umbrella completes her outfit. Then a procession is formed, and all her friends, twirling their umbrellas, sing and march through the town or towns on their way home again. All along the route the young men in the towns come out and dance before her, presenting her with some small offering. Then she is taken to her husband, and dancing is kept up during the night.

And now to return to the search for the evil doers. When it became known that the Kongo Zovo were in earnest, and meant to punish the three girls and their defilers, their families hid them away, so that the people, who were now thoroughly aroused, became very angry. The month of Mbangala Nuni (December) had nearly passed, and the sun-scorched stocks of the fruitless Indian corn shook their rustling leaves in mockery around the native huts, and the shrivelled leaves of the native bean lay black and crisp upon the ruddy soil, while the sweet potato shoots planted beneath the mandioca had flowered and withered long ago. Their mandioca and their half sulky palm trees alone remained, and granted that it rained shortly, might still be saved to them. The mango trees, that during the last drought had born them two great crops of their luscious fruit, this year had scarcely deigned to bear at all.

On New Year's Day, as I was on my way home, I noticed a crowd of women hooting and beating a girl, who was running away from them. That girl was one of the three. She got away to her village, and prematurely gave birth to a child. Time was given to her to recover, and January 23rd was the day marked for the great dance in Maluango's capital, when the girl and her defiler should pay the penalty due to their God, King, and country for their crime. The custom is that the crime committed shall be proved against the culprit before the King and the people assembled, and the penalty is that the culprits shall be shamed by dancing naked before all the people, who heated gravel and bits of glass and threw them at the man and girl as they ran the gauntlet. The

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culprits were then obliged to buy some very expensive medicine by way of a fine to appease the Bakici Baci. I do not say that death may not in some cases be the penalty, but Maluango alone has the power of life and death over free men, and the people themselves would have to answer to him if they took the law into their own hands, and killed a sinner of this kind before a proper trial had taken place. But before the 23rd the man and the girl in question had run away.

In the meantime, the people in the villages around the mission had discovered the second girl who had broken the laws of her country. So they went to her town to arrest her. But she had run away, so they tore up the plantations round about, and eased their wrath in that way.

Then the head of the mission, understanding that the people wished to kill the girl, very properly wrote to the administrator to ask him to interfere in the matter. The administrator then arrested one of the Kongo Zovo, and kept him prisoner until the culprits should be delivered up to him. And on January 27th the culprits were brought before him, *and on that morning it rained.*

Some Symbols.

Questions of this sort are settled by the people; but in some cases the palaver is considered too important for human interference; then the man wears a badge (Pl. II, *b*) with various symbols upon it.

The great symbols which the Fjort describe upon their carved sticks, or on their cloths, are as follows:—



Ntangu Ntangu, The Sun.

Vana vamonikana ntangu mbata ina.

This sign signifies: "Even if I keep putting off talking the palaver with you, we will talk it out when the sun at midday is unclouded."

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Ngonde Ngonde, The Moon.

Vana vantentimina ngonde katekuici.

The same meaning, but at midnight when the moon shines brightly.



Axe.

Xitali kukuanga nunkuanga kwinu.

When a man is about to die he says: "You may be killing me, but there is one who will avenge me."



Hoe.

Nkuku sengo kufua nkuku li ambu (kufua) mpe.

"The hoe may rust and vanish, but the word lasts for ever." This refers of course to their everlasting palavers, but it has the higher sense also.



Ngonje.

Beno nuzabici minu i li fumu'nci Buãu lu ncikila ngonje.

"Let all know that only on the death of a Prince, and by a Prince, can the ngonje be struck."



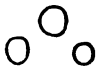
Bikula.

The four royal drums, representing the four fingers on the hand.

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Bikula õuaci ku muntu ku fua bikula ku cikila mpe una ba cikila fumu ci.

"The drums that are heard by man only on the death of a great prince, and not at other times."



Ma Ku Ku.

The three lumps of ant-hill-earth, which women place under their pots to support them while their food is being cooked.

Ma Ku Ku ba tatu nzunga ku duku ka mpe.

"A pot on three stones does not upset."

When a woman comes with a matet[1] upon her head in which bottles of water are carried, she places them at her husband's feet, and if well educated, salutes him by clapping her hands three times, and says "makuku batu nzunga kuduku ka mpe.

One day an old lady visited me. She had taken nkasa, the poisonous bark, to prove to the world that it was not she who had caused death. She was wearing the red collar to show the people that she had taken nkasa and that successfully.

On one side of this red neck-scarf or collar, which is bound with white tape, were represented the moon, a native axe and a native hoe, and at the bottom the sun. This picture gives us the idea of the moon's place in creation, as the woman working with hoe and axe to supply man with food. On the other side were roughly represented the death-drum "Bikula," and a woman carrying a load upon her head, above the three makuku (or tops of small ant-hill) upon which the woman's cooking pot is placed. And where the two ends of the collar are joined together, a negro bell is attached.

Now when the BAVILI make a solemn oath (KU LEVA MPECI) they wet their finger and make the sign of the Cross upon the earth and then touch their earth-covered finger with their tongue.

General as this custom is even far inland, I have always

[1] Long native basket made of palm leaves.

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looked upon it as one possibly introduced into the country by the early Portuguese.

Mr. Bentley translates the word cross EKULUZU, while Père Derouet gives the word KRUSSU, these are of course derived from the Portuguese word "Cruz."

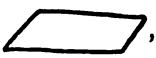
Now in the capitals of all Kongo's once great provinces (now Kingdoms) four roads called NZILA NZAMBI or God's roads meet, and where they cross or rather separate they are called MAVAMBA, and these roads come from the East and West and North and South and represent the four great winds, MABILI the East from whence their religious ideas come, SENZA the strong West wind representing morality, XIKAMACI the North wind representing matter, reason and evil, and BUNZI the South wind representing the deep of the nervous system, the rain giver.

The signs by which the natives represent the Cross they call ZILA (or way), and it is of the TAU form  with the additions at the lower extremity of the inverted horns of the Antelope  called MBAMBISA. It is used on the collar of red saved list, worn by those who have taken the powdered bark "NKASA," the ordeal to prove that they are not witches. It says "We were of one stock and travelled by one way until this palaver parted us."

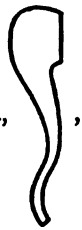
On Friday, January 5, 1900, Matueka came to see me, he informed me he had taken "casca." He was wearing the usual red collar round his neck and I asked him to explain the symbols worked in patchwork on it.

The sign near the top of the right shoulder, he said, we call nzila mavamba, , and it means that we were born of one mother, and were one until strife divided us. The next sign, xala mioko,  is a seed that opens and separates easily,

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and shows that I was open handed and generous. Then the bellows, nsakaso, , points to the fact that it was my relations that caused me to treat them as I have done. The nozzle to the bellows, , called nxelo, explains that we were sons of one father, and that I, the son of one wife, had to contend against my three half brothers, sons of another wife. The three ant-hills, makuku matatu, , tell you that I called witnesses, saluted them three times, and told them all about the palaver. The mat, mbonda fulla , says that I put my accusers on one side just as they have placed me on one side. , ntanji or chair, points out that I was given a nice place in the town where I took casca, and was well treated. Then Mbambisa, , the horns of an antelope, explains that I asked the question, "What did I do to cause this dividing of the ways of the children of one father." And the smaller drums "bikula, , say, "Why was I forced to beat the Bikula and so let all the world know that I was an outcast from my family?" Then when I had taken the bark and proved my innocence, I beat the drum ndungu ilo, as the sign , big drum, shows, to let the world know that I was innocent. And I sent the ngonje, , or bell to my people to announce the day of my return to town. And the

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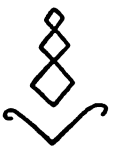
Ximpaba, , or knife of office was sent to my accusers to demand damages.[1]

THE TRIBAL MARKS OF THE PEOPLE BETWEEN LUANGO AND BRAZZAVILLE.

The Batexi, or Bateki, who say they are from the same Mother as the Bavili, file their front teeth to two points, and mark each side of their face with three marks ///))).

The Bakuni file their front teeth to six points, and mark their face with six strokes .

The Bavili file their front teeth to four points, and mark their stomachs thus:—



The Bakamba file their front teeth to six points, and have from one to three crocodiles tattooed on their stomachs.

The Bayaka and Basanji file their front teeth to two points, and have six keloids, in the form of lizards, on their stomachs.

DRUM LANGUAGE.

In 1881, we in Landana heard of the wreck of the mail steamer *Ethiopia* off Luango, sixty or seventy miles away, one or two hours after its actual occurrence, in Luango, by drum message.

[1] These rough diagrams represent as nearly as possible the very rough patchwork figures on the red collar.

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This wonderful drum is called NKONKO, and is formed of a log of wood some six feet long. This log is then rounded; pieces at each end of what is destined to be the top side of the drum are left in the rough, to be carved and ornamented. From these pieces (nearly from end to end that is) a long thin slit or cut is made. This incision is about two inches deep and three finger-widths broad in the middle, narrowing at each end to two finger-widths. The rounding is then continued to the depth of the incision, then the drum is hollowed out by means of long chisels or gouges.

The drum being made, a good operator with his drum-sticks can say anything he likes upon it in his dialect. The drum-language (so-called) is not limited to a few sentences but, given a good operator and a good listener, comprehends all a man can say.

I. The sound I (ēē) is formed by operator striking the side of the drum nearest to him, just in the centre of the drum, on the line of the incision.

U is formed by hitting the belly of the drum on both sides at the same time, when they say the sound comes out at either end of the incision.

A is sounded by beating the line of incision to your left, near to that end of the drum.

O, by beating the line of incision to the right of the I.

E, by striking the line of incision on both sides of the drum between the letters A and I.

The other letters are formed in combination with these vowel sounds by striking the line with a second drum stick with more or less of emphasis or precision.

The call to arms :—In yako—in yako—i zi fula i me yela.

Here (we are ready)—(get ready) there both powder and ball.

To call the men who are in the bush to town :—Beno boso nu duka.

You all (gather) together (in town) caution.

And when the native hears that an enemy is approaching,

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he advises him to come well prepared, or he will suffer:—Nu ba intu for bantu.[1]

You men.

In the early part of 1895 I sent the schooner *Olhanensa* from Luango to a place some sixty miles north, called Konkwatti, for the purpose of picking up some cargo there. One morning about ten o'clock my head man came to me, and after some hesitation told me that he had heard that the schooner was ashore. I could get nothing more definite out of him except that he had heard the "news." I knew enough about the rapidity with which bad news travels to believe that this misfortune must have occurred, and set about making the necessary preparations for despatching boats and implements to her rescue, so that the next day, when the messenger confirming the news arrived, all was ready and immediately forwarded. It appeared that the schooner had come ashore during the night previous to the arrival of the unofficial news, which probably had not been communicated to me until some time after it was the common property of the natives; that is to say, the news had travelled the sixty miles or so in three or four hours.

[1] This is particularly interesting, as giving the key to a perennial puzzle, revived during the Boer war, viz: How does news travel among the natives in the speedy way it does?

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CHAPTER VII

BAVILI PSYCHOLOGY

The Soul.—Shadows.—Black Magic.—Ghosts.—The Future of the Soul.—Witchcraft.

THE SOUL.

WHEN I read that according to the observation of Mr. So-and-So the same word is used among a certain people for breath, shadow, ghost, and soul, I do not conclude that the observer in question is wrong. Neither, however, am I led to suppose that these *four* distinct ideas are one in the mind of those people. I know how hard it is for an observer of primitive, arrested, or degraded people's thoughts to get at their real meaning, and I know that in some cases one word may stand for four distinct ideas.[1] Even in the country in which I have lived, although the white man has been there over four hundred years, I doubt if there are many who could enter into this subject with any great hope of giving you a definite idea of the difference the native draws between life shadow, breath, and intelligence on the one hand, and ghost, soul, and spirit on the other.

XI DUNDU OR SHADOW.

I remember when it was considered a crime for a person in this part of the country to trample on or even to cross the shadow of another, more especially if the shadow were that of a married woman. This shadow the Bavili call Xi dundu.

[1] Take the word MABILI for instance.

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To-day people are still very particular about passing one another; but a new-comer would be rather reminded of the custom at home that it is rude to pass in front of anyone, and inclined to put this habit down to a native's natural politeness.

At night the Xi dundu is said to sleep[1] in the body of its owner; and that it is considered a very vital part of man we gather from the fact that should an ndoxi, or dealer in black arts, rob a sleeper of his Xi dundu, he is said to take away his life. The Xi dundu enters and comes out of the body by the mouth (Munu), and is then likened to the (Muvu) breath of a man. When a man dies, he is said to have no shadow, even as he has no breath. Thus, in the mind of the Bavili both Xi dundu and Muvu are part of mortal man, and die with him. But when a person swoons, or has a fit, or is in a trance, they say some ndoxi has taken his Xi dundu, and it is just at his pleasure to return it or not. Should you kill the ndoxi, the Xi dundu in question would escape with another member of the ndoxi's family. Supposing even that you think you know the ndoxi who has secured your friend's shadow, you may not go to him and ask him to return it; you must get two or three zinganga to confirm your supposition, who shall visit the sick person and cry out to the ndoxi to leave the person alone, and then threaten to call out his name if he does not return the Xi dundu; then if it is not returned you must knock some fetish, calling his name out, so that if the ndoxi does not return the Xi dundu he will surely die.

XIMBINDI, OR REVENANT.

We have already learnt a good deal about the Ximbindi in the tales in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort.*[2]

After death the Ximbindi of a person may rest in the house in which he dies for twenty days, after which it goes off to the woods and lives the very natural kind of life described in the above tales. But the Ximbindi of an ndoxi may haunt the place he died in for ever.

[1] This belief is obviously derived from the fact that at night a man's shadow disappears. How far the statement in the text requires modification when there is moonlight I am unable to say.

[2] Pp. 11–16, 115, 156.

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It is believed that if a person ever sees the Ximbindi of one of his relations he will die, and should anyone be beaten by a Ximbindi, that person certainly has not long to live.

An ndoxi who has the proper medicine (mpanga) is spoken of as having the power of "Nyungala." Such an ndoxi catches and keeps Bimbindi, and sends them out to beat and kill living persons. This ndoxi has also the power to send the leopard to kill people, or the crocodile to drown them and to carry their Bimbindi away under the waters to some island in the river Kongo, where he collects them previous to selling them to the white man, whom they serve as slaves, and make cloth for him beneath the blue sea far away.

The girl mentioned in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*[1] as living in Malela, and as having died and been buried there, and then sold in Boma as a slave, and who afterwards came back to her family, was supposed to be under the influence of Nyungala by her parents. Since giving this example of a living Ximbindi I have heard of another case. A girl of the village of Lumbembika, in the upper Lukula river in Kakongo, died and was buried. Some time after this her mother, having made a long journey into the bush, came across her daughter, and asked her how she got there. She said that she had been sold to the chief of that town. After some palavers and delay she was brought back to her town, where she lived as a Ximbindi. She was forbidden to go near the place where she had been buried. The only difference people noticed about her was that her will was not her own, and that her eyes were like those of a person who had been drinking.[2]

Xilunzi, or *ndunzi*, the intelligence, dies, so they say, with man, and a Ximbindi is simply a tool in the hands of the ndoxi and has no ndunzi.

NKULU, VOICE OR SOUL OF THE DEAD.

The Bakulu, or souls, of the BAVILI have nothing to do with witches, shadows, or ghosts, or breath, or even intelligence; they are the guiding voices of the dead. They prefer

[1] P. 11.

[2] It is by no means impossible that she was under hypnosis.

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to dwell in the heads of some of their near relations, and are placed there as described in the "Death and Burial of the Fjort."[1] If they are not fortunate enough to find such a habitation, they are said to hover about the outer division or verandah of the houses of their relations. They are never seen. They mourn with their relations when in trouble, and long to help them. And they say that if every one of the Bavili were destroyed to-morrow, these Bakulu would hover about in the grass around their towns for ever and ever.

I was very much touched the other day, when present at the funeral of a woman whom I had learnt to respect very much, to note the careful way in which the brother picked up the sacred earth from the grave of his now buried sister. His wife held out the end of the red cloth serving as her husband's waistband, and he carefully placed the earth in it. She then doubled the cloth over it, and tied the whole into a knot. This earth at some future date will be placed by some nganga in the little horn "Likawla," or then in the little tin box "Nkobi," so that the Nkulu of the dead sister may be placed in the head of some living relation, and her guiding voice be once more heard by those who loved her.

There are apparently six kinds of KULU among the Bavili, three belonging to the MUNTU NZAMBI class and three to the MUNTO A NDONGO class—that is to say, three pertaining to the higher or moral nature of man, and three to his lower and physical nature.

1. Nkulu bakakata (or the soul of our ancestors) causes women to bear offspring. (This is connected with the BAKICI BACI or sacred groves, but I have not found any traces of reincarnation.)

2. Nkulu npunu is also an ancestral soul that causes babies to fall sick.

3. Nkulu yianzi is the soul of one who has just died. It is placed in the head of a living relation for the purpose of consultation.

4. The muntu nzambi will not reckon as "nkulu" the nkulu ndoxi (nkulu of the person dealing in witchcraft).

[1] *Folklore*, viii, 136.

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This nkulu of the dead witch only a *witch* seeks to have placed in his head. It is a sore point with the BAVILI, and they prefer to tell us that the nkulu of a witch ceases at his death.

5. Nkulu mbuila, a very destructive locust.

6. Nkulu xilunga.[1] Both 5 and 6 have medicines attached to them to be given to women whose "courses" have been greatly delayed for some cause.

Those who have read either *Seven Years among the Fjort* or my *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort* may remark that the Nkasa tree has not been mentioned as a sacred tree. It will be remembered that the powdered bark of the Nkasa tree is given to suspected witches and wizards as a test to prove their innocence or guilt. If the accused vomit the noxious medicine, they are innocent. If the poison is retained, it either poisons the witch or else acts as a strong purge, when the culprit is set upon and killed, the body burnt, and the ashes scattered to the wind. No burial was granted to this temple of "Ndongo."

This witchcraft or fetishism (I use the word in the sense given to this part of BAVILI philosophy by the Portuguese sailors and missionaries of old) is just the evil counterpart of Nkicism (in the ancient acceptation of the word).

The BAVILI thus to this day describe *themselves* as BANTU NZAMBI, men of God, or BANTU A NDONGO, men of the black art; but all who think themselves *Bantu nzambi* are not necessarily such, for while among the *Bantu a ndongo* there are people who are aware that the evil power is in them (and these are those that are burnt, after death), there are others, on the other hand, who have lived with *ndongo* in their stomachs all their lives without knowing it. In fact, the painful truth is only brought to light after death, when the *ndongo*, who hates the idea of being tightly wrapped up and buried deep in the bowels of Mother Earth (or *Bulunji*), makes its appearance. For, say the Bavili, when the corpse has been wrapped up in folds of cloth, *ndongo* fights his way out of the stomach with a fearful explosion, burning a hole

[1] The meaning of this term has escaped me.

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through the wrappings. As the *ndongo* is no longer in the stomach of the corpse, and as when alive the man had lived a decent life, the corpse is buried; but no loving relation will pick up a handful of earth from the grave to keep until required for the purpose of depositing it in the *Likaula* or *nkobi*, those little *zinkici* so necessary to the sick relation who would commune with the "voice" or "*nkulu*" of the departed.

Lu Muéno or Mirror.

It is "Xina" (a thing forbidden) to throw the light reflected from a mirror upon a person, and when the light passes across the face of an individual he cries out: "Leave me alone. I have ndudu medicine in my body." It is not a crime, but more of the nature of an insult, to throw this light upon a person. Bits of looking-glass are to be found fixed in trees, and in the eyes and stomach of many fetishes. The light thus thrown is called "ntenia lu muéno."

Photography.

When one wanders about the native village with a camera and points it at people with the intention of taking their photographs, they invariably at first run away. They say that they are afraid that the photographer wishes to take away their life or "*Monio*."

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CHAPTER VIII

NDONGOISM

Fetishism and Religion.—The Zinkici.—Putting Life into the Image.—The Mpumbu.—Rites.—Ximbuka and other Zinkici.—Amulets.—Nail Fetishes.—How they are made.

IT is commonly assumed by writers on Africa that fetishism (the worship of tutelary images) is the religion of the African. It is true that images (so-called gods of Africa) of this description are very common in the Kongo, and if religion be defined as the relation conceived to exist between man and an invisible world, the term religion may perhaps be applied without inaccuracy to this cult, which is essentially not unlike the occultism of more civilised regions with its familiar bottle imps and witches' sabbaths.

Whether this fetishism (or NDONGOISM) is, properly speaking, religion or not is of small importance. There is at any rate side by side with this cult what few observers appear to have noticed, a higher religion, which I call NKICI-ISM, connected with NZAMBI and the powers which as his attributes symbolise him under the name of BAKICI BACI.

The ZINKICI are of two classes, ZINKICI ZINZO or ZINKONDI (home-protecting figures, charms, and talismans), and ZINKICI ZIMBOWU (figures into which nails are driven). Specimens of both kinds are to be found in the British Museum and also in the Museum in Exeter, and illustrations of some of these can be seen in Plates V and VII from an article in the *Quiver* entitled "The Gods of Africa,"[1] by Mr. F. M. Holmes.

[1] Many people talk of the gods of the BAVILI, as they call the "powers" and fetishes, but the BAVILI themselves say NZAMBI U VANGA BANTU I U VANGA BAKICI BACI, or God made man and he made the "powers" on earth also.

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In this article there is an interesting passage referring to the late Rev. Thomas Comber, a missionary in the Congo, whom all loved very much, which, if correct, points to a difference in the way these fetishes are supposed to act in the Congo and in Luango.

"Could this image hurt me?" asked Mr. Comber.

"Oh, yes; it would strike you dead."

Mr. Comber took it in his hand, and turned it about and looked at it meditatively. It was a funny little object, an image of wood, with a large protuberance on its back and a similar protuberance on its chest, looking as though it were both hump-backed and pigeon-breasted at the same time.

"What would happen if I were to cut it?" asked Mr. Comber.

"Oh, it would strike you dead!" they exclaimed in alarm.

"May I try?" he asked.

"Oh, it will kill white man," they asserted.

But as he pressed for permission, they at last agreed.

So in breathless silence Mr. Comber drew his knife from his pocket and slowly cut off the pigeon-breast of the little figure. Scrap after scrap fell from the image, but still it made no sign. At length he desisted; the operation was complete.

"Behold," he exclaimed in triumph, "your god has no power. See what I have done, and yet I am not hurt. It is but a senseless piece of carved wood."

Then he proceeded to point the moral of his action by showing the difference between such "gods" and the God of the Christian.

From the description of the fetish given, it was one into which nails might be driven, and was perhaps the NKAWCI (two-hearted figure) NTIMA WALI and of the ZINKICI ZIMBOWU class; their names are legion.

Whatever its name, and if of the ZINKICI ZIMBOWU the figure had been named, it had cost the life of one person. When any injury has been done to one of these fetishes in Luango, its "KULU," or spirit, goes back to the owner of the fetish, and keeps on afflicting him until he has given it a new figure, but it has no power in itself to injure the person who

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has damaged it. If a native has done the damage he must pay for the renewal of the figure; if a white man—well, he is only a white man after all, and may be forgiven for his ignorance.

Many figures are sold to Europeans that are simply figures. A fetish that is sold has had its "KULU" withdrawn. The only genuine fetishes owned by strangers are those taken by force, but even in this case the "KULU" comes back to the NGANGA, or owner. The Luango boy might be very much alarmed and annoyed at such an action as that of Mr. Comber's, but he might, if he were a rich man, laugh and enjoy the joke, concluding that it was no use trying to frighten a white man by telling him that his fetish, as a figure, had powers which he knows it has not. Natives forgive much in a white man, especially if he chances to be beloved, as the late Mr. Comber certainly was, but if he wished to be revenged for the damage done, his course would be to have the figure renewed, and then to have a nail driven into it with the express purpose of injuring his enemy. Then the "KULU" would set about its duty.

On one occasion the writer asked a native if the BAVILI made no images of NZAMBI. "Who would be such a fool?" the man promptly answered, and the writer said no more.

I will now proceed to deal with the Zinkici, and with some of the more important amulets of the Bavili. We have seen that one class of images is called ZINKICI ZINKONDI.

The ZINKONDI or fetishes brought by the winds, are also known as BANKONDI in LUANGO. The only images of this class seem to be the MPUMBU. These are wooden figures of a man and a woman standing about eighteen inches in height. When these figures have been carved, it is necessary to enroll them among the ZINKICI of the BAVILI. They must be set apart from common figures (NKAWCI), and dedicated to their sacred use as NKICI. This is done by the NGANGA in the following way:—

A small shed having been built, he encloses it with the fronds of the palm tree. He goes into the bush to gather the leaves of certain trees and herbs to make the necessary medicines. He picks out a man from the family for whom

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the Bankondi is made, who shall act as the spokesman of the figure, and then proceeds to put the spirit into him by pouring a decoction or infusion of herbs he has gathered into his nostrils and eyes. The man thus treated lies down upon an empty box within the shed, surrounded by the fronds of the palm-tree, until the spirit enters his head. He gives evidence of this by beginning to shake violently, so that his body makes a noise on the box like the beating of a drum. He then gets up and tries to run away, but he is forced back into the hut until the attack has passed, when he is given the name of "NGULI BWANGA."

The wooden figures are charged with the proper medicines, and as "Mpumbu" are then given into the custody of their spokesman, NGULI BWANGA.[1] And when NGULI BWANGA has received the MPUMBU, he buries medicines in the ground and plants a MBOTA-tree.

When a native is sick and has gone through all the necessary formalities in connection with the rites of Mpumbu (rites in which the plant MSAKASAKA plays an important part), a pig is killed, and its blood is poured over the wooden figures of Mpumbu, as if they were supposed to glory in that which the ZIFUMU ZINDONDI (kings) abhor.

The MPUMBU are said to have been brought by the EAST WIND (MABILI).

Other Zinkici are not in human form. *Ximbuka* has the form of a round native basket made of the Mfubu leaves, and is used as the deposit of the household remedies.

Its guardian does not throw kernels at this basket, but he shakes a small gourd (filled with hard seeds that rattle) at it, as he requests it to cure one of the family or to slay an enemy of the petitioner. It has two guardians and voices that speak for it, Nguli Bwanga, a woman, and Ngulu Bwite, a man. They are not a married couple, and are not neces-

[1] See "Burial of the Fjort." My cook MAKAWSO was NGULI BWANGA of the MPUMBU.

This guardian does not drive nails into the Mpumbu. He simply throws palm-kernels and dust at them, as he asks them to kill the hidden enemy who is secretly destroying the petitioner. And NGULI BWANGA causes the MPUMBU to kiss mother-earth as a sign that the petition is heard, by taking it in his hand and making its head touch the earth.

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sarily associated with one another. The ceremony of putting the voices into them is the same as that connected with Mpumbu, but each personage has a hut apart, in which he or she has to live two months.

NZACI is also a basket, and the same ceremonies are gone through in putting the voices into its guardians. Both take the name of Suami until the ceremony is over, when the woman takes a small fetish, NKUTU (a small net), which she wears between her arm and body near the armpit, and becomes Xicimbo, while the man takes the name of Xitembo. The above two ZINKICI are said to have been brought by BUNZI, the south wind.

NGOFO. The ceremonies connected with this basket, which is round and open like a coaling basket, are the same, but the maiden only is placed in the hut. After this, which in this case is a marriage ceremony, both man and woman wear a certain kind of iron bracelet. The maiden when first she enters the hut is called Kaŷi's wife, or Nkaci Kaŷi; afterwards she is known as Nkaci Ngofo.

LEMBE is a bracelet connected with a marriage-rite. The wife married in this way is called Nkaci Lembe, and is the one who acts as the guardian of all her husband's Zinkici, and should she commit adultery, the husband, on his return home, upon opening the basket containing the medicines connected with the marriage would find them wet. A Nkaci Lembe is kept very strictly within her hut and the fence, LUMBU (Pl. IV, *b*), surrounding it. LIBUKU, a large kind of rat, is said by Tati to be XINA to NKACI LEMBE.

NGOFO and LEMBE are said to have been brought by the south-west wind, NGONZOLA.

The following are some of the principal NKICIKICI, or personal protective charms:—

CIBA, a charm worn by women to ensure safety in childbirth, consisting of a horn of the little antelope (*sese*) filled with "medicines."

TANTA, a string bearing a strip of the skin of the Xinkanda (lemur), tied tightly round the head as a charm to protect

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the wearer from harm and pain. *Tanta* is also worn as a sign of mourning, and is then supposed to have the effect of helping the wearer to bear his troubles.

(The *sese* and *xinkanda* are two of the most difficult animals to catch; hence the charms are proportionately valuable.)

NTEO, a charm for a woman.

NDUDA, a charm for a man (Pl. V, viii).

BETUNGA, the charm which women wear to guard the life of the baby yet unborn. It is made of a piece of the skin of the XICIMU, a kind of lemur which is a very fast breeder.

NZAU, a charm which enables a man to procreate children. It is made of the skin of the elephant.

XIKUNDA, a double-headed rattle having fetish powers, carried by the BADUNGU or police society.

Mabili (Pl. VI) as NKICI NKONDI is found at the entrance of each village and XIBILA, even as it is found at the gates of the old kingdom of Luango on its eastern frontier. It takes the form of a string of grass and feathers stretched across a road from two stakes or uprights of Nkala wood planted on each side of it.

MBUMBA is the copper bracelet worn by the NGANGA MBUMBA, who grants to those unfortunate in health the bracelet made of the fibre of the Baobab tree called SUNGA MBUMBA, not to be confounded with the iron bracelet or charm given by NGANGA MBUMBA XICIMBU.

Of the same class of charms are the bracelets (not marriage bracelets):—

NGOFO, iron.

SUNGA NSACI, plaited leaves of palm tree or cloth.

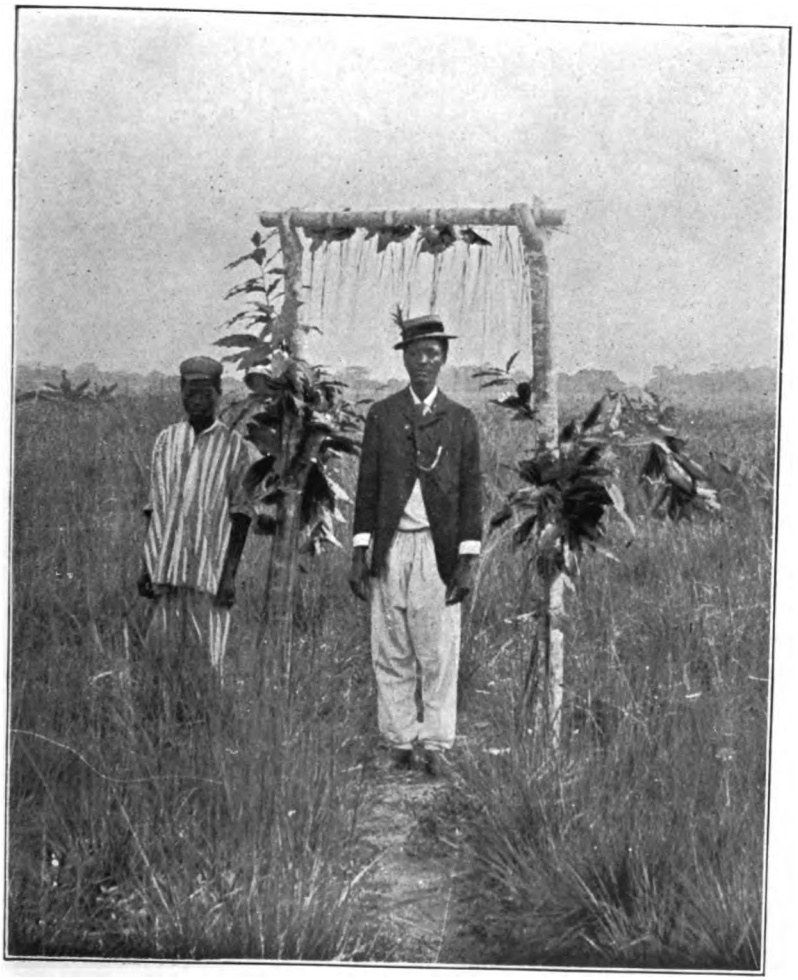
„ XIMBUKA „ „

„ MABILI „ „

„ XINBINGO „ „

NGANGA MBUMBA XICIMBU is the full title of the NGANGA MBUMBA or medicine man attached to Maluango's court. He it is who accompanies and encourages the NGANGA NVUMBA elect to proceed on his way to BUALI to be crowned. He tells him that he will overcome all his enemies, or that he has nothing to fear, as he has no enemies, &c.

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MABILI.

See page 99.

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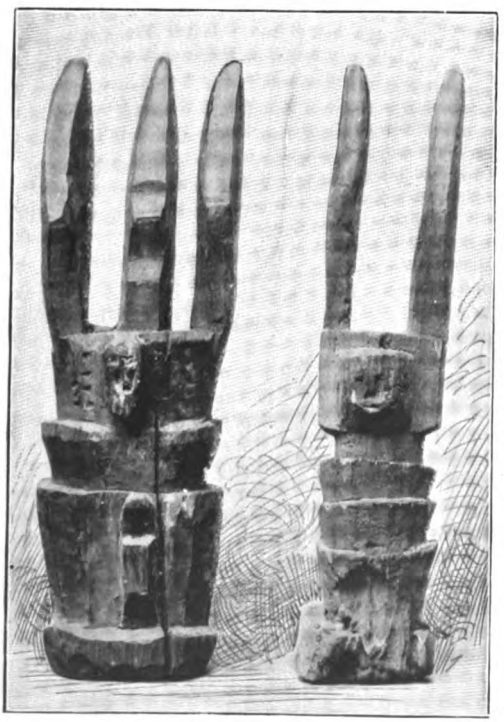
NDUDA.

See page 90.



MPEMBE.

See page 91.



BI SONGA.

See page 91.



MPEMBE.

See page 91.

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He owns the fetishes XISONGO and XISIKA.

XISONGO is a piece of iron to be found near TERO, buried in the earth near to the sacred ground. "Is it true," says the petitioner, "that I am to have no children?" as he tries to pull up this buried piece of iron.

XISIKA is a piece of heavy wood buried in the same way in different parts of the country for the same purpose, *i.e.*, a test of virility. A plain iron bracelet is given to patients by NGANGA MBUMBA XICIMBU, and worn by them as a bracelet.

BINKAWCI NKAWCI BI'MWAKUNU (the little figures that are apart looking in different directions) are two figures on stakes driven into the ground, which are said to turn round as the seasons follow one another. At the beginning of the rainy season one faces Kayi, or the EAST, the other the lake LULEBA—that is, their backs are more or less turned to the sea. In the dry season they face west towards the sea.

NGOFO, iron marriage bracelet (originally ivory (LUVOSE) for real princesses). NGOFO and FUNZI are the Luango and Kakongo names for the same marriage rite and bracelet.

LEMBE, a heavy copper marriage bracelet common to Luango and Kakongo.

XIBUTU XILONGO, a small copper bracelet connected with the medicine given by XIGANGA XIBUTU to protect one from evil. When a man wearing this bracelet marries, his wife also takes and wears one as a charm and sign of marriage.

QWANGO, NGOYO, MBONDO of MBOIO, MPEMBE are ZINKICI BANKONDI (see Pl. V, viii).

MAKWANI and XIMPUNGU are names also of figures of this class. BISONGO (like forks) are also known here (see Pl. V).

LUSAWNZI and NKUTU are numbered 1 and 2 on page 258, *Pioneering on the Congo.*

NDIBU, page 247 in the same book.

We now turn to the other class of images, the NKICI MBOWU, or nail fetishes, also termed ZINKAWCI ZI BAKICI.

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By far the most comprehensive picture of fetishism that we have yet received from any of the great travellers who have from time to time visited the West Coast of Africa is the chapter on Fetish in Miss Kingsley's *West African Studies.*

We call shops, or stores, "Fetishes" on this S.W. coast, and (as Miss Kingsley rightly says) the word is derived from the Portuguese word "Feitico," meaning charm. "Feiticeiro" is the word the old Portuguese sailors and missionaries gave to the BAVILI'S *Zinganga zinkici.*

The BAVILI divide all people into two great classes :—

1. *Muntu nzambi* (man of god).
2. *Muntu a Ndongo* (man of black arts).

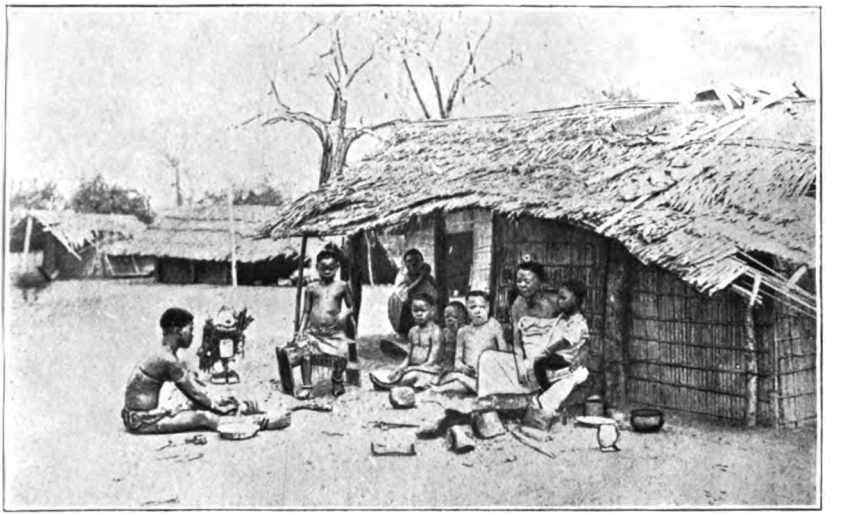
Ndongo signifies the evil spirit that is said to live in the stomach of all witches (ZINDOXI).

Now the *Zinganga zinkici* (or the repeaters of the lore connected with the wooden images into which nails are driven) are not priests in the sense that the *Zinganga Bakici Baci* are. The latter are *Bantu Nzambi,* the former *Bantu a Ndongo.* It will be seen from this that the religion of the Bavili is divided into two great divisions, and that the old Portuguese sailors and missionaries were most taken by the Ndongoistic pranks of the *Zinganga zinkici,* and that they looked upon this part of the religion of the Kongo people as the whole.[1] This error has been the cause of much misjudgment of the native religion, and is perhaps one of the causes of Miss Kingsley's taking Professor Tylor's definition of fetishism as serving to describe the complete religion of these people. As Professor Tylor says, fetishism is the doctrine of spirits embodied in or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects. In the next chapter I show that the Bavili religion goes very far beyond mere fetishism. Their ideas, it is true, are expressed in symbolic language, but fetishism bears about as much relation to this portion of their religion as popular Buddhism does to Buddhistic philosophy.

[1] Talking of NDONGO-ism or the religion of slaves connected with witchcraft, &c., or natural religion, they say that "Dust has been thrown into the eyes of the chicken."

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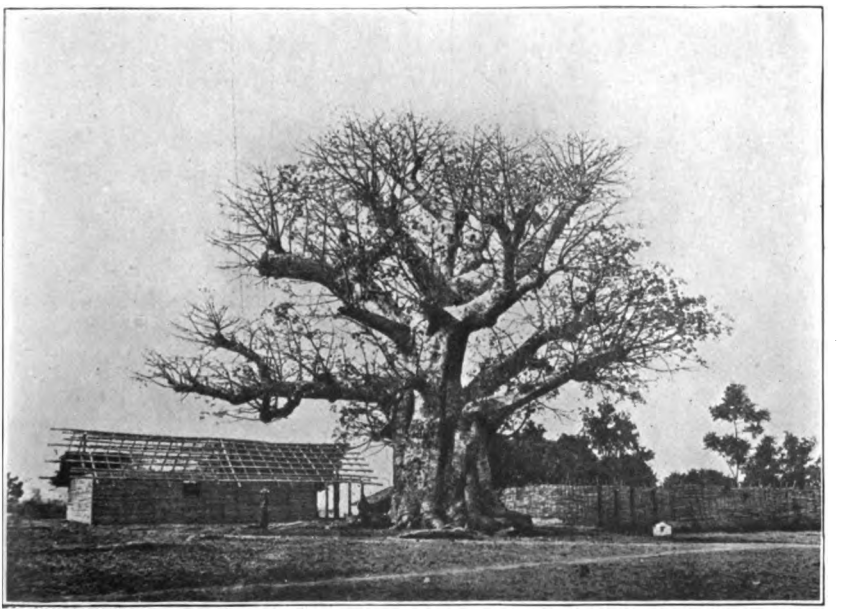
PLATE VII*a*



Sick woman before a NKICI MBOWU.

See page 92.

PLATE VII*b*



NKONDO—the BAOBAB Tree.

See page 133.

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Now let me tell you how a fetish of this kind is made, and describe some of their names and uses (see frontispiece).

When a party enters the wood with the Nganga (or the Doctor) attached to the service of the fetishes ZINKICI MBOWU, into which nails are driven, for the purpose of cutting the "Muamba" tree, with the intention of making a fetish, it is forbidden for anyone to call another by his name. If he does so, that man will die, and his KULU will enter into the tree and become the presiding spirit of the fetish when made; and the caller will of course have to answer with his life to the relations of the man whose life has been thus wantonly thrown away. So, generally speaking, a palaver is held, and it is there decided whose KULU it is that is to enter into the Muamba tree and to preside over the fetish to be made. A boy of great spirit, or else, above all, a great and daring hunter, is chosen. Then they go into the bush and call his name. The Nganga cuts down the tree, and blood is said to gush forth. A fowl is killed and its blood mingled with the blood that they say comes from the tree. The named one then dies, certainly within ten days. His life has been sacrificed for what the Zinganga consider the welfare of the people. They say that the named one never fails to die—and they repudiate all idea of his being poisoned or that his death is hurried on in any material way by the Nganga, who, they say, may be miles away. The difference between the spirit of "Mpumbu" brought by the East Wind and the Kulu of the known individual that is to preside over this fetish is evident.

People pass before these fetishes (ZINKICI MBOWU), calling on them to kill them if they do, or have done, such and such a thing. Others go to them and insist upon their killing so and so, who has done or is about to do them some fearful injury. And as they swear or make their demand, a nail is driven into the fetish, and the palaver is settled so far as they are concerned. The KULU of the man whose life was sacrificed upon the cutting of the tree sees to the rest.

These fetishes attended big palavers and were knocked[1] by the parties engaged, so that he who spoke falsely or bore

[1] See *Ante*, p. 56.

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false witness should die. These are the class of fetishes most in evidence, and as such are apparently the bitter enemies of European Governments, who seem to take a delight in clearing the country of them. I wonder if they are right?—at any rate before they have got the country properly in hand and can give the inhabitants that security they are so fond of talking about. Brute force is no doubt a great power for a European Power to wield over such a race as the BANTU, and will make them do much; but is it not curious that civilised countries in the twentieth century should resort to so barbarous a form of governing a people supposed to be so much their moral inferiors? And by taking away a fetish of this kind they do not prevent the native from making another one to take its place. It merely makes the native more cautious, and forces him to guard his fetish in some secret place outside the small sphere of official influence.[1]

The wooden figures in this class of NKICI MBOWU are legion, and their multiplication comes (1) from the desire of each district to have its own nkici, and (2) from the importation from foreign districts of those who have gained fame for their slaying powers or as deterrents. Thus in Luango we hear of Mangarka,[2] Mbiali Mundunbi, EKAWSO,[3] Selo Xingululu, Mani Mavungu, Fulula, Xiela, MBWAKA, all of whom are known to be imported from Kakongo. It has therefore been hard work to distinguish those which were originally consecrated to the use solely of this district. For some time I had seventeen on my list, but I find that Maquarsia, Ngoio, and Kondi Mamba are not Zinkici Mbowu, so that I am left with the fourteen whose names I give you under all reserve, as, after all, I may not have got at the true and original Bavili ones:—

1. Mambili, a figure of a man with nails driven into it, now a wreck at Ximoko.
2. Mamboni Pwati, figure of a man.
3. Mambika, a figure of a man.

[1] MANGARKA, see Manchester Museum, Mani mavungu, see *African Society's Journal*, July, 1902.

[2] MBWAKA, see Bentley, *Pioneering in the Congo*, p. 260.

[3] EKAWSO, see *Seven Years among the Fjort*, *or* Exeter Museum.

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QUANGO XILUNGA.
See page 91.



MALEKA.
See page 95.



NDUDA.
See page 90.



MBONDO DE MBOIO.
See page 91.



NGOYO.
See page 91.



Figure made to sell, not a fetish.



NDUDA.
See page 90.

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4. Maleka,[1] a figure of a man (Pl. VIII).
5. Bixibula Xibula, a figure of a man, at Mpili.
6. Xilinga (?).
7. Lenga lenga, a man with knife.
8. Zambi inyona (?).
9. Ngembe,[1] a figure of a man.
10. Mvumvu Xioxilo,[1] a figure of a dog.
11. Pansu muinda, a figure of a man.
12. Boka miemvu, a figure of a man.
13. Lu siemu, a figure of a dog.
14. Mavungu Mambuembo, a figure of a man.

[1] These are now in Europe and doing no good there, you may be sure, but certainly no harm.

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CHAPTER IX

NKICI-ISM

Xibila.—Drought.—Inside the Grove.—The Nganga.—Visit to a Grove.

NKICI-ISM as opposed to Ndongoism is connected with sacred groves and the Kingly office. The sacred grove is called XIBILA the plural of which is BIBILA.

The sacred land where MALUANGO has to build his official residence is, as we have already noted, also called his XIBILA.

It is here that as NKICI CI he may be said to join mankind to ZAMBI through the BAKICI BACI. Here he greets his people. Here he asks the plaintiff Xibila Mbixi? (Of what crime do you accuse this person? Short for Xibila Mbixi naka Nlilila, What greeting, why do you keep on crying?) And here it is where all the people come together to talk out their great palavers.

When matters go wrong with the BAVILI (say for instance when there are no rains) they cry out to their King, and he summons his court to advise him on the affair. It then may be decided that the question is one that man cannot settle, and NGANGA MPUKU NYAMBI is called in and asked to consult his magic mirror and so divine the cause of the evil weighing so heavily upon the people. This NGANGA may answer that the cause of the want of rains is the immorality of some people unknown or he may say that it is the pleasure of God to visit them with this misfortune, and they had better send offerings to "BUNZI" to beseech him to send them the necessary rain. Now NGANGA MPUKU NYAMBI is the NGANGA or priest connected with the sacred grove MPUKU

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NYAMBI. So that we can see the relationship between the XIBILA of the king and that of one of the BAKICIBACI.

There are apparently two great classes of sacred groves (1) those connected with the sea, salt water, fish, and spiritual ideas, and (2) those connected with the rains, plantations, births or ideas of nature.

CONTENTS OF A SACRED GROVE.

Each XIBILA, as we have said, has a name, *i.e.*, that of the "power" it is called after.

And each rainwater XIBILA has its seawater mate, and each XIBILA contains a spring or a lagoon or swamp or well of some kind containing or connected with perhaps the home of its snake or XAMA. I regret to say that my studies in this subject of wells are so incomplete that the reader will have to be satisfied with any chance remarks that in the course of these papers I may have to make about them.

Each XIBILA contains (generally in the centre) a small native shimbec, where the NGANGA keeps his basket of seeds and shells, such as MBIALA MIOKO, a fruit from the interior, MASEVI crusader's shell, ZELECE, a shell, NTUMPU, a fruit, and MANKANAKANA, a fruit which grows underground in the Mayombe district.

Heaps of oyster and cockle shells are found in the grove, while in and about the hut

The skin of a snake, the MBOMA.

The skin of the snake XAMA.

The vertebra of the whale.

The feathers of the fowl and parrot.

The heads and horns of animals such as the LUNGU, antelope, MPAKASA, the ox, and NGULUNGU, smaller antelope, etc.

The heads of beasts (see under animals), and of course the NGANGA, the diviner, or priest and man.

Such is the general description of the contents of the XIBILA or place of coming together and greeting of the BAVILI.

I will now describe how I first discovered one of these

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groves, from which you will gather some idea of its appearance.

One day, walking about the woods on the hills behind Landana, in 1883, after winding our way through many over-branched pathways, we suddenly came in upon a circular clearing, in the centre of which grew an old tree, around which the jaws of two or three whales had been placed and become overgrown by the roots of the tree on which they once rested, so long must they have been there. The space around the tree was carefully swept, and on one side we noticed a beautiful new shimbec, or hut. My companions said they did not know who swept the clearing or who built the shimbec. Some feiticeiro or wizard, or perhaps a thief. A native story they told us runs:—"Once upon a time there was a wizard who was anxiously looking about in the woods for a place to build a shimbec, wherein he might rest in peace and hide the bodies of his many victims. After many days' search he at last found a likely spot, marked it, and returned to town to buy some luangos or rushes, with which to build himself a hut.

"Now, there happened to be a thief who was puzzled to know where he could place goats and sheep he had robbed in safety.

"He travelled many days through the woods, and at last hit upon the same spot as that selected by the wizard. 'Just the place!' he cried, and off he set to town to arrange for some bamboos. The wizard returned with his rushes, rested awhile, and then went back to town for some more. The thief returned, and declared the fetishes had been wondrously favourable to him in sending him the luangos (rushes). The wizard reappeared, and thanked the NKICI that had been so kind in sending him the bamboos.

"Between them the wizard and the thief soon raised the shimbec, and wondered at the progress made in its construction during each other's absence. The wizard finally rigged up a broad shelf against one of the walls, and went away to seek someone whom he might poison. The thief in the meanwhile brought his goat, and, having killed it, cooked some and ate it, climbed upon the shelf, and fell

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asleep. The wizard returned, dragging the body of his victim after him. He partook of the goat so kindly provided for him, and then flung the body of his victim upon the shelf. The thief, without waking, pushed the body down again. 'What, not dead yet?' muttered the wizard; 'then I'll soon settle you,' and then he smashed in the skull of the dead man with a club, and heaved him on the shelf again. The thief rolled over, and down came the body again. The wizard once more punished the body, and carefully placed it on the shelf again. The thief threw the body down again, and this so frightened the wizard that he ran off to town and shut himself up in his hut. The thief awoke, rubbed his eyes, saw the dead body, and concluded at once he was in a wizard's shimbec. He followed the wizard to town, and knocked at his door. 'O corpse,' cried the wizard, 'is it you?' 'Yes,' said the thief, and he knocked again. 'O corpse, is it you?' cried the wizard. 'Yes,' said the thief, who now summoned all the townfolk, who dragged the wizard out of his hut and gave him NKASA, cast him into the fire, and burnt him. Moral—Better be a thief than a wizard."

As I afterwards found out, the grove I had discovered was not the home of a wizard or a thief, but one of the Kakongo sacred groves, but this my companions had evidently concealed from me.

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CHAPTER X

BAVILI PHILOSOPHY

Sacred Symbols.—Compound Names.—The Sun and Moon.—General Scheme of Bavili Ideas.—Cosmological Ideas.—Temporal Ideas.—The Year.—The Seasons.—Genetic Relations.—The Categories.

THE King of the Bavili, as I have said, has seven titles, one of which, that of Ntawtela, he does not receive until after his death. The other six, as I have explained elsewhere, are assigned to him as head of the six great departments of state. These six titles are, as I shall point out later, closely connected with the system of philosophy which I wish to expound to you. I believe that above and beyond fetishism or NDONGOISM, which I have already dealt with, there is a higher form of religion among the Bavili which is connected with certain symbols in the form of (1) sacred groves, (2) sacred lands and rivers, (3) sacred trees, (4) sacred animals, (5) omens, and (6) the seasons. The six titles of the King connect him directly with these six divisions of sacred symbols as well as with the six departments in the state. As Nkici ci he is, according to the native view, one of the products, or perhaps we should rather say the end and final result, of the working of the powers, or Bakici baci, represented by the sacred groves. As Fumu he is the king (or chief from whom all proceed) of the symbolic lands and rivers. As Ntinu Lukene he is head of the custom of the leopard, and thus associated with the sacred animals. As Nganga Nvumba (the doctor of the source of seasons or time) he is intimately connected with the seasons. As Xivangi

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(procreator) he is at the head of the omens. And as Mueno (the overseer of the morals of his people) he presides over the sacred trees. That is, he is the chief teacher in all these branches of native belief.

It is possible that at one time each of the sacred symbols mentioned above had its sacred grove; in this grove, it may be, the king, as the great high priest, taught his people the lesson connected with the symbol. In support of this conjecture I may mention that I have so far in no case discovered more than twenty-four sacred symbols in any of the six divisions enumerated above. There are, it is true, certain apparent exceptions, but the supernumerary symbols can be shown to stand apart from the others for clearly defined reasons. After years of study I have discovered twenty-four trees and herbs which are, as the natives say, BAKICI BACI or sacred, twenty-four sacred animals, and so on. Now if each division of sacred symbols is composed of twenty-four parts, the sum total of Bakici Baci should be 144. I have as a matter of fact discovered upwards of 90 sacred groves. It is therefore quite legitimate to suppose that there may formerly have been 144 or more. Not only so, but the meanings of the names of the sacred groves go to prove this supposition, as I shall show more in detail later. The most remarkable fact, however, about these groves is that the Bavili have preserved the orderly grouping of twenty-four of these, and I believe that it is in this order that we find the key to their philosophy.

In the sequel I treat of all the six sets of twenty-four symbols in detail. I should now like to draw your attention to the eight words, the only eight of this kind, so far as I know, found in Xivili, which are compounded of two words, as they seem to me to imply that the idea of the Bavili with regard to the symbols fall into 1+6+1 divisions. These words are:—

MAMU-NZAMBI

MBUNGU-NTWALI	MAULA-NXIENJI
NKALA-NGO	NKONDA, or NONGA-NZAU
MANIA-MATALI	BULU-NTU

KACI-NUNI

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(1) MAMU-NZAMBI (the acts or word of God)[1] is a name given to certain towns, where some great palaver, consequent on the death of a great prince, has been talked out.

(2) MBUNGU-NTWALI (two mugs). This is the name given to the mouth of rivers where the waters of the sea and the river meet and form whirlpools.

BUNGU is the water bottle or mug, and there is a native saying KU NUA MALAVU, KU BULA MBUNGU, MBI I BELA NU MALAVU VO MU MBUNGU? To drink palm wine, to break the mug is the evil in the wine or the mug? This implies that the liquid in the mug may be replaced, but the wise man takes care of the mug.

A slave wishes to transfer himself to a new master, breaks his water cooler, and this act is called XIBULA MBUNGU.

When the princes hearing a palaver retire to take counsel one with another, they say they go away to drink water.

When the King dies it is his ambassador (or mouth) MAXIENJI, who carries the royal mug in the funeral procession, just as he has often before carried his words of wisdom. The mug is still left, you see, although it is not used until the princes elect their next King.

In ordinary funerals, which take place there, four or five years after death, the wife, parting from her dead husband for the last time, as they take his body away to bury it, lifts up her basket, containing the water bottle and, perhaps as a purification ceremony, goes to the stream to draw water.

Ideas of liquids, wisdom, and morality are connected with the MBUNGU NTWALI.

(3) NKALA-NGO, the crab and the leopard. This stands for "Roe and Doe" in palavers, and the crab is the symbol of the sea, while the leopard is that of the earth. Their ideas of solids and justice are connected with these words.

(4) MANIA-MATALI, generally the name of a district up a river where rocky land rises from the low-lying swamps.

MANIA means the "cold" stones found in rivers and valleys. The word written in full is MANDIA (the princely womb). Ideas of the moon are connected with this word; everything looks cold by moonlight, and is actually cold.

[1] The translations given in brackets were in every case given me by the natives.

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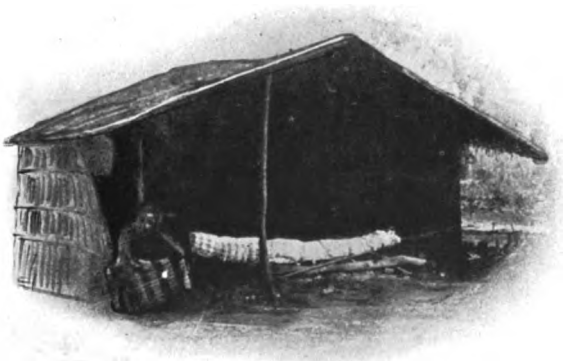
PLATE IX*a*



The coffin containing the body on view just before burial.

See page 102.

PLATE IX*b*



Corpse ready to be placed in coffin.

See page 102.

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MATALI (or Matadi) means the metallic rocks, heated by the sun, NTANGUA (mother chaser), and is opposed to NGONDE (or NGONDIA) the Moon, regarded here as the mother of the sun. The words mania-matali stand also for sun and moon.

The Sun and Moon are also spoken of as two brothers running one after the other, but as the word NKOMBA in BAVILI may stand for either brother or sister, we may if we like call them brother and sister.

The sun and moon are further spoken of as judges to whom certain palavers must be referred. The other day I noticed a very neatly devised badge (Pl. II*b*) upon a native's shirt, and I asked him what it meant. The background of the badge was red, a favourite colour with the materialistic Bavili. The sun and new moon were figured in white cloth, while the mouth was formed of white and black cloth. The native told me that he had a palaver with a certain cook, and that they had come to the conclusion that the decision of so great a question could come only from the sun and moon. Upon a visit to the grave of my old native friend Francisco I found the following device upon the gate of the fence surrounding it: the sun with lines across its face and the moon in its last quarter. Here no mouth was figured, showing, I suppose, that all breath was at an end. I can find no trees sacred either to the sun or moon.

5. The Morning Star the Bavili liken to a child running before its parent calling him to rule the day. This Star they call MA ULA.[1]

The Evening Star is the offspring expressing its joy at going to rest with its mother the Moon, and it is called NXIENJI.

The full moon rises from her couch accompanied by this same star, her offspring, now her husband, and this star is then called NDONGO (the spirit of witchcraft).

6. NKONDA or NONGA-NZAU (to hunt the Elephant) has the meaning of amassing everything for one's own family and giving nothing to others. It is the name of certain towns The words symbolise weight, energy, and plenty.

[1] The exclamation U ULU is that with which the Bavili greet either the new moon or a "witch" (NDOXI).

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7. BULU-NTU (a breaking of the head) a place generally situated about the falls of a river where the waters burst a channel through or past the rocks. MBULU = beast. NTU = man.

8. KACI-NUNI = wife and husband, really "primeval dawn" and "I have absorbed." These words are not only used for man and wife but also for negative and positive powers; inferior and superior, as when one man comes up to another to ask him for a favour and calls himself the other's NKACI. NKACI is also used for the word NGULINKACI meaning one's uncle on the mother's side. Thus the mythologist may easily become confused. The natives say that the sun calls the moon his mother, but MAMA (mother) may mean his aunt by marriage. He is also said to be the husband of the moon; this may mean that he is superior to her just as Maluango, though the king of the offspring province, considers himself superior to KAKONGO, the mother province, from whence his wife comes.

These double words, which with one exception are compounded of elements of contrary meaning, may be regarded as one particular case of a formula which runs through their philosophy. To sum up we have—

1. MAMU-NZAMBI—concerning god palaver.
2. MBUNGU-NTWALI—the heads of maternity connected with ideas of water.
3. NKALA-NGO—the crab and the leopard connected with ideas of earth.
4. MANIA-MATALI—cold and hot stones connected with ideas of fire.
5. MAULA-NXIENJI—the two stars connected with ideas of motion and procreation.
6. NONGA-NZAU—hunting the elephant, connected with ideas of plenty.
7. BULU-NTU—beast and man connected with ideas of birth.
8. KACI-NUNI—wife and husband ideas of opposites.

Put into a generalised form we may say that the philosophy of the Bavili can be expressed by the formula 1+6+1; six

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categories, which, as will be shown in the subsequent chapters, reappear in the arrangement of the groves and other symbols of Nzambi, and outside these categories at the one end the idea of Nzambi, regarded as cause; at the other the idea of man regarded as effect.

In the case of the compound words the order adopted is not based on any information drawn from the natives: all that has been gathered from them is the distinctive character of these eight words and the ideas which they connect with them. We now pass on to consider the seasons, and here not only has it been possible to elucidate the native ideas connected with the seasons and their names, but to get from the natives further details as to the genetic relation held to exist between the various months and seasons.

Cosmological Ideas.

In the last resort the Bavili are monists: they reduce everything ultimately to a manifestation of Nzambi. From the abstract Nzambi proceed Nzambi Mpungu, Nzambi Ci and Kici. These three elements of the trinity appear in Bavili philosophy as Xi, Ci, and Fu. (It is desirable to note Xi and Ci are respectively female and male, whereas Nzambi Mpungu and Nzambi Ci are male and female.)

Xi means passive matter or things pertaining to the maternal principle. Ci is the paternal or active principle.

Let us take an example. The sea is regarded as a male principle; from it proceeds rain which falls on the earth, and the earth is regarded as a female or passive principle; the rain fertilises the earth and causes it to bring forth fruits.

Fu is, properly speaking, habit, custom, or sequence; we may, perhaps, express it in one word by evolution, understanding thereby rather the process by which the individual is produced than the life history of a species. In another sense it may almost be said to be the individual himself. Thus, when the rain has fallen upon the earth, it forms on the one hand springs and rivers, and on the other causes vegetation to spring up. Both the rivers and the vegetation result

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from the interaction of earth and sea: the process of production and the product are both Fu.

In order to prevent misconception I expressly state that these ideas are not derived directly from the natives, but from philological considerations. These three ideas are naturally strictly abstract and out of all relation with the material universe.

Xi and Ci having produced Fu cease to operate; Fu, on the other hand, continues. Under the name Vu it becomes active in space and time, and may be called the cause of the material universe, Vu = time, season.

TEMPORAL IDEAS.

(*a*) *The Divisions of the Year.*

Properly speaking, the year falls into three divisions, Mawalala, Xicifu and Mvula. Of these, Mawalala is a period of rest, Xicifu a period of preparation, and Nvula an evolutionary period or period of production. Just as in the cosmological ideas we have a progression of three factors, Xi, Ci and Fu, so in the same way in temporal ideas, Mawalala and Xicifu produce Nvula. Just as Fu in its turn became a cause, so Nvula produces Mawalala of the succeeding year.

(*b*) *The Seasons and Months.*

Of the three divisions of the year, Mawalala is itself both a season and a month; Xicifu falls into two seasons of two months each, and Nvula into four seasons of two months each. Properly speaking, the seasons only exist as factors in six groups of four, the other three being in each case the two months, and the product specially associated with the seasons. These groups of four are related just as our cosmological series, Xi, Ci, Fu, and Vu; they consist of a principle, male and female causes and a product.

We have already dealt with the months under measures (p. 65), and it is unnecessary to repeat the information given there.

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I now give you these groups in the form of a table :—

MAWALALA.

Seasons.	*Months.*	*Products.*
Mwici (smoke).	Bulu Maci Mavola (source of sweet waters). Bulu Maci Mbu (source of sea waters).	Nkasa (pea).
Bunji (mist).	Bika li Muanda Xicifu (to leave the valley of mist). Muanda Xicifu (the valley of mist).	Mbundubundu (new green grass).
Mvumvumvu (drizzle).	Kufulu Nkaci (negative desire). Kufulu Nuni (positive desire).	Buku (mushrooms).
Waw Waw Waw (rains).	Kaci Mbangala (negative witness). Nuni Mbangala (positive witness).	Kusafu (a fruit).
Nvula Nxentu (female rains).	Bika li Muanda Sunji (to leave the valley of the cycle). Muanda Sunji (the valley of the cycle).	Makundi (fruit).
Nvula Mbakala (male rains).	Ndolo Nkaci (female suffering). Ndolo Nuni (female suffering).	Mba (palm kernel).

MAWALALA.

We may now consider the genetic relations of these six groups. Denominating the groups by the names of the seasons which preside over them, Mwici is female and Bunji is male; their product Mvumvumvu is regarded as female. Just as in the cosmological ideas Fu, the effect, becomes Vu, the cause, the female effect Mvumvumvu is replaced by the male cause Waw Waw Waw. This is, however, not directly operative, but manifests itself through the secondary causes Nvula Nxentu and Nvula Mbakala, and their effect is Mawalala. Mawalala, as the table shows, stands outside the progression, and is in a way the end or final effect of the whole process.

In its turn Mawalala becomes a cause; it stands to Mwici and Bunji in the same relation as Waw Waw Waw to the two groups which follow it. Being regarded by the natives as a season of rest, no product is associated with Mawalala. The orderly grouping of the symbols may be termed the formula.

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THE CATEGORIES.

The Bavili ideas relating to the various divisions enumerated above may be said to fall into six divisions which we shall term the categories. It must be understood that the European ideas which I have been led to select only represent imperfectly the native ideas. On the one hand the European conceptions go beyond those of the natives in many directions; on the other the natives associate many to the European heterogeneous notions under one heading, as shown below.

The six categories are: Water, Earth, Fire, Procreation and Motion, Fruitfulness, Life. I will now proceed to show the connection of the seasons with these ideas.

Mwici. Not only do the names of the months composing this season mean salt-water and fresh-water, but the word Mwici itself contains the root Mu (for Mbu = the sea). The connection of this group with liquids is clear.

Bunji. The names of the component months mean the valley of Xicifu, and the name of the group the source of seed or maize. This connects it with the category of earth.

Mvumvumvu. This is the period of marriage and the names of the months mean male and female desire. The flame of love is perhaps sufficient to justify me in associating this group with fire and marriage.

Wawawaw. The notion of running away, to which we have already alluded, may serve to connect this season with the category of motion and procreation.

Nvula Nxentu. The months are the months of maturity of crops and the harvest, and their names are connected with the mortar in which seed is pounded. The connection with fruitfulness seems clear.

Nvula Mbakala. We have already mentioned that the opening of Mawalala is a period of high birth rate. This may serve to associate this season with the category of Life. The names of the months mean male and female suffering or travail.

In dealing with the compound words it has been mentioned

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that the natives associate various ideas with them ; these ideas in their relation to the categories are here set out in tabular form :—

Category.	Associated Ideas.
Water.	Morality, wisdom (as opposed to reason), virtue, breath, speech (=out-breathing), inspiration (=in-breathing), hearing, mouth, fatherhood.
Earth.	Solids, justice, reason, intelligence, essence, seed, herbs and grass, hands, stomach, heart, motherhood.
Fire.	Love, desire, marriage, union, spirit, light, kernel, tying up, heat, and cold, the womb, smell.
Motion.	Touch, the penis, conception, germination, thunder, lightning.
Fruitfulness.	Weight, energy, plenty, pregnancy, harvest, sight, memory, leg.
Life.	Birth, parturition, pain, taste, lips.

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CHAPTER XI

BIBILA, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE GROVES

The King as NKICI CI.—The Groves and their order.—Bakici Baci.—The Formula.—The Families of Groves.—Xikamaci and others.—Categories again.—Names of Groves.—The Devil.

WE have seen that the Bavili philosophy teaches that a sort of genetic connection exists between the seasons. This idea is fairly intelligible in its application to periods of time, which involve a process, and therefore a sequence of cause and effect. Though it may appear to us metaphorical to speak of months as male and female, we need only recall the names of some of the chemical elements to see that our own forefathers were prone to deal in ideas of this order, and we can hardly feel surprise that the African intellect follows in their wake.

The idea is less comprehensible when we try to apply it to the groves—less comprehensible, that is, to the European. Just as in the seasons, we have one group as a primary cause, then two intermediate causes, and then the effect ; so with the groves. It must not, however, be forgotten that when we speak of the groves we are really dealing with the powers which the native puts behind them. We have enough examples of cosmogonies embodied in a mythology to make the Bavili idea, if not comprehensible, at any rate no more remarkable than many another primitive fancy.

Just as the seasons, months, and products fall into groups of four, which are genetically related to one another, so the first grove is the primary cause, the second and third the operative male and female causes, and the fourth is the product.

In this connection it is worthy of note that the order of the

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groves within the groups, and of the groups themselves, is not one which I have evolved out of my inner consciousness; it was given me by the natives themselves. If, therefore, we find it possible to trace, even imperfectly, the same formula in its application to the groves which we have just applied to the seasons, I shall, I conceive, have gone far to establish the genuine native character of the ideas which I am putting before you.

The groves fall into six groups of four each, and just as Mawalala stands outside the formula of the seasons, so the Lungululubu group stands apart from the rest of the groves.

In the chapter on the Zinkici have been mentioned the Bakici Baci, and we must now proceed to explain in detail the ideas connected with these powers. The Zinkici are what are commonly termed fetishes; the Bakici Baci are unconnected with images of any sort, and are not subject to human control; at the same time they are addressed by the natives, not perhaps as independent powers, but as intermediates. The Bakici Baci are conceived as spiritual; they are the offspring of Nzambi, some being male, others female. Each Nkici ci has its own grove of the same name as itself, and each has two priests consecrated to its service.

We have already seen that Maluango is called Nkici ci, as the representative of Nzambi on earth. In the same way the chiefs, who in this capacity are termed the "eyes of the people," are also known as Bakici Baci; they are the representatives of Maluango in the same way that Maluango is the representative of Nzambi.

The name Bakici Baci is applied by the natives to the powers connected with the groves, and with the groves are connected sacred lands and rivers and sacred trees, the seasons, the omens, and the sacred animals. The Nkici ci of a grove is conceived as resident no less in the seasons and in the omens than in the rivers or lands connected with the respective groves.

It will be shown in the sequel that the sacred groves are grouped together in sets of four, which we denominate "families." The members of these families are conceived by the natives to be genetically related to each other; beyond

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this the families themselves are regarded as standing to each other in a similar relation.

The formula of these genetic relations must be clearly borne in mind by the reader who wishes to follow the ideas of the Bavili on the subject. It may be expressed in the following way:—

Formula.

$$C = \left.\begin{matrix} fc \\ mc \end{matrix}\right\} = \text{int. e.}$$

$$\downarrow$$

$$\text{int. c.} = \left\{\begin{matrix} \text{f product} \\ \text{m product} \end{matrix}\right\} = E.$$

Formula.

that is to say, we have outside the formula a cause, C, which produces (within the formula) a female cause; this, allied to a male cause, produces an intermediate female effect, which again being replaced by an intermediate male cause gives rise to the last two terms of the formula as a product, male and female; these two produce an effect, E, outside the formula again.

I now proceed to deal with the groves in detail. I may, perhaps, assume that the reader is now to some extent familiar with the idea of the categories. At any rate, I hope that the occasional digression on the subject of the beliefs and practices connected with the groves, will not obscure the important point of their position in the general scheme of the Bavili philosophy.

1. *The Mpungu Group* is especially associated with the category of liquids.

MPUNGU is used with the word ZAMBI when it is translated by the missionaries as almighty. They associate NZAMBI MPUNGU with the sky, and therefore by a natural transition with rain.

SENZA is the west wind. The sea is to the west of Luango, and with the sea (MBU) the BAVILI connect ideas of fatherhood, spirit, and motion. This is readily understood when we remember that the general direction of the great rolling waves is from the west (SE = father).

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NGONZOLA = the S.W. wind; it is also, in connection with XAMA, looked upon as the evil rainbow (see under Omens), when it is said to enter rivers and cause floods, and carry everything it meets with it to the sea. The word carries with it a meaning of love and maternity. (Ngo is the leopard, ZOLA is to love.)

MVULA means rain.

2. *The group of Xibwinji* is associated with the earth.

XIBWINJI is known as the mother of XIKAMACI, the north wind. XIKAMACI = the earth divided from the sea. When a person seeks her help to overcome one of his enemies, he goes to her sacred grove, and with the help of the NGANGA buries a nail or bead or other article in the earth at the same moment as he demands the favour. And when for some reason or other he, or one of his descendants, wishes to withdraw the curse XIKAMACI has blighted his enemy's happiness with, he must seek out the NGANGA again and present him with an offering. The Nganga then prepares some medicine which he wraps up in leaves and places in a dish of palm wine. With this lotion the Nganga proceeds to sprinkle the ground. The petitioner informs the Nganga what particular thing he buried. Then it is said the earth "bubbles" up and throws out the article mentioned.

This act of bubbling up and throwing out that is common to this earth in XIKAMACI'S grove and the whirlpool in rivers is called XIZUKA.

SAMONA or SAMUNA. Here the petitioner whips the earth with a stick or throws a stone or other article on to it with great force as he asks his favour. As XIKAMACI'S opposite, this is supposed to represent the gathering-in action of the whirlpool, or XISEKU as the movement is called. As "powers," then, XIKAMACI and SAMONA may be said to represent "dispersion and concentration."

KUNZI means the North-West wind. Konkwati is the home of the above "powers" or groves, and they are not far from XILUNGA the home of the MAMBOMA of the province of XIBANGA. Here the connection of the family with the category earth is indisputable.

LUNGA means to blow, also the triumph of might over

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right. And it is said that there is always a pretender to the throne of Luango to be found in XIBANGA.

Now XIKAMACI, the North wind, is the great enemy of LUNGULULUBU, the protecting power of the BAVILI. The story goes that she was a very hard-working woman who had large plantations of manioc. The children of the king of the land used to come and rob the produce of her labour, and so she complained to her mother, XIBWINJI, and said she meant to punish them if they did not desist from robbing. The mother advised her not to do so but to complain of the children to their father who would, she was sure, chastise his offspring himself. Contrary to her mother's advice, XIKAMACI caught these children and taking the law into her own hands punished them. Then the king, their father, became very wrath and caused rains to flood her plantations, water coming up also out of the earth through the ant hills. In this flood XIKAMACI was washed (poor dear! say the Bavili) into the sea, where she is generally said to remain, save when she comes ashore to get red wood and other articles for her toilet. She is said also to demand one of all twins born in the country. And when boat boys or fishermen are about to take a drink, they first pour a little out of the bottle into the sea. XIKAMACI is said to be the mother of the double grove XIKANGA NXILUKA, situated between the KWILU river and Luango at a place called XISSANGA. And NXILUKA is said to have brought forth an animal and a wooden figure (NKAWCI) and a stone.

Thus XIKAMACI (the North wind) coming from near XILUNGA in the province of XIBANGA may be said to be the grandmother of NDONGOISM or, as some would call it fetishism.

3. *The group of Bukulu* is associated with fire.

BUKULU means a ray of light, which the natives connect with the idea of chasing as bubbles seem to chase one another in boiling water.

KANGA is another word for FUNZI both meaning the guinea fowl. The word KANGA means to tie, to fry—KANJI = he who ties. A man who is tied up or made a prisoner becomes according to native law one of the family of the man

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who ties. So that KANGA as a power may mean conjunction or assimilation.

BUNZI is the South wind and has its home in the province of MUANDA between Cabinda and Banana. Its full designation is BUNZI BU BAMBA, and I notice on Mr. Ravenstein's map MBAMBA is marked as being close to Banana. MBAMBA is also the most south-westerly province of the composite kingdom [1] of SONIO. It is to this "power" that Maluango after consultation with NGANGA MPUKU NYAMBI sends offerings of chalk, cloth and skins. As it is from BUNZI that rains and life and apparently all good things come as a power, it may stand for propagation or semination.

MBAMBA is the tiny kernel where all the virtues of the future palm tree exist (it is also the coronella snake). MBAZU = fire. As a power then it may mean fusion (or the offspring of marriage). All these come under the category of fire in one sense or the other.

4. *The Mbawmbo group* is associated with the category of motion.

Mbawmbo they say has its grove to the East of Maluango's composite kingdom in a town called NKANDA NGO (the leopard's relation) in the SUNDI country. The word BAWMBOKA means to move slowly, MBAWMBO therefore may mean "motion." It must be remembered that thunder and lightning are connected with omens which the Bavili associate with the nervous system and ideas of procreation.

LUABI = the persistent (evil) light and so perhaps may as a "power" (connected with motion) signify lightning as the female of

SOLOKOTO, which means the power of growling in the father or (as a motion perhaps) Thunder.

MABILI, *i.e.*, "the prince who greets" is the East wind. This wind brings with it great tornadoes, and this is thus connected with movement. BILA means reason, cause, purpose, as well as to greet, and we have already noted that it is connected with the word XIBILA, the sacred grove or

[1] By composite I mean formed of six provinces as that part of Kongo's kingdom which lies south of the river Kongo, and those of KAKONGO or LUANGO.

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meeting place. In this way we catch a glimpse of the foundation of the saying of the Bavili that all religion comes from the East. Here, however, MABILI is the offspring of motion.

5. *The group of Kungu* is associated with fruitfulness.

KUNGU is a grove within the sacred province of Luango called BUALI where the dead who die with their eyes open are said to be placed under its LOMBA tree. The word KUNGU is derived from KUNGA, to amass, so that it means an amassing or heaping together.

MBUMBA = mystery. The idea may also be associated with ripe fruit falling from the trees. BUA = to fall.

NTAWMBO = seedling, sprout, shoot. It is the name of a river that keeps on rising out of the ground. This may be translated into European language as another kind of energy.

XIVOLA means attraction.

6. *The group of Nyambi* is associated with ideas of life.

NYAMBI = Ruler (literally the spirit or personality of the four). NYAMBI is said to be the nephew of BUNZI. Some people call God NYAMBI instead of NZAMBI, but the word rather means Life in the sense of VIS VITÆ. IA = to be.

LUAYI = the umbilical cord. As XAMA LUAYI it is the protecting beneficent rainbow, so that as a power it may mean Protection, Maternal Love, Sustenance.

NYIMINA, YIMA is to bear fruit, while YIMINA is to know how to bear fruit with; NYIMINA then is the one who knows how to bear fruit with, or as a "power" paternal love.

MPUKUNYAMBI is the bursting or birth giving power in Nyambi or perhaps what we may term "Birth." To this grove a man takes his pregnant wife and asks with her for a safe delivery. As there is no life without food we can understand how it is that the people first appeal for the reason of a famine caused by want of rains to the Nganga Nyambi, the great diviner attached to this grove. It is evident that these powers are connected with ideas of life.

The Nkungu and Nyambi groups are looked upon as the

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descendants of the four[1] previous great families which as we have seen, include the winds.

Of these 24 sacred groves of which the order was given me by the Bavili, no less than 19 can, as it seems to me, without undue forcing, be brought into connection with the categories which we have already applied with success to the Seasons. This parallelism seems to me to be too striking for it to be possible to explain it as the result of coincidence. When I add that this formula may be applied with more or less success to the groups of sacred lands and rivers, to the sacred trees, to the omens and animals, I think you will agree that a good *primâ facie* case is made out for attributing to the Bavili something better than the fetishism (NDONGOISM) which is commonly regarded as the expression of their highest thought.

There are many other groves, but although the writer has discovered the names of many he has not yet found a native capable of placing them in groups as the above have been. It is possible that there are 144 (*i.e.* 6 groups of 24) or more[2] of these groves in the kingdom, or rather connected with the kingdom of Luango, but to undertake the discovery of them all would mean the appointing of a properly constituted mission and some years of labour.

The names of the other groves discovered by the writer and the meaning of their names are as follows :—

Name of Grove.		*Literal meaning.*
MUBA	=	a grove connected in some way with the MPUNGU group, the name of a district in Kakongo. MU is a prefix, and BA is to be.
MPUKULU	=	side of a house.
XIFUSA	=	connected with XIVUMA FUSA is to bore.
KAWMA	=	to add to.
LUNGULULUBU	=	the very deep of motherhood.
XIVUMA	=	of the stomach.
MBANDA LUNGA	=	to guard the ascent.
MPUMBA	=	
DUMI	=	the north-east wind.

[1] Note the complete divining board and how OPELE (representing the eight discs) is the offspring of IFA as represented by his 16+1 palm kernels, Pl. XXI.

[2] See chapter on Philosophy at the back of the black man's mind, and the Bini story about EWARE, pp. 234.

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Name of Grove.		*Literal meaning.*
NKONDO	=	the upper part of the legs of an animal.
XIMBUNGU	=	of the quality of a drinking mug.
XIBUTA	=	a bringing forth.
XIQUANI	=	that holds himself apart.
XIKANGA	=	a tying up. } offspring of XIKAMACI.
NXILUKA	=	a vomiting. }
XINGOMBE	=	of the nature of cattle.
MANIA	=	stones that absorb.
ZIMBU XIKOKO	=	the fly and mosquito hand in hand.
MPESO	=	chalk.
BALA	=	to think. } connected with XIBWINJI.
XINJILI	=	conglomerate rock. }
MATALI	=	stones throwing out heat.
MPUNZU ZINGA	=	the blot of life.
KU SUNZI	=	the spreading nerve.
XIBATA	=	of the penis.
NJILI BECI	=	fish rock.
ZIMBU BIFUNDI	=	the waters of the offspring.
ZWANGANA	=	the house of another.
LUSALA	=	feather.
LUIBA	=	to forget.
TACI MPUNGU	=	the almighty primeval speaker.
XIKAFA	=	of the leader, in the end of a fishing rope.
XUNGU	=	pottery.
MPANZA	=	mandioca (the river of giving).
MPANANA	=	abundant reciprocal giving.
MWAKUNI	=	division.
LUECI	=	concerning the primeval being.
XILU XINKUKUBA	=	of the weaving of heaven connected with MPUKU NYAMBI.

As the mind's eye of the writer wanders over this beautiful land of the BAVILI and rests on these sacred groves dotted about the country, and lingers on woods and rivers, the names of which represent some spirit teaching the people some lesson, and hovers over every town, the name of which for some good reason has been given to it by its founder, he wonders how such a people can have fallen to so low a moral level. And yet the answer is not far to seek, for the wars waged by ambitious princes causing disruption and anarchy in the Kongo, the wars waged by M'Buku and the BACILONGO against Makongo whom they dethroned, causing anarchy in KAKONGA, and the slave trade have affected LUANGO—where children refuse to submit to their parents, the young to the

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wisdom of the old, the people to the inspired voice of their NKICICI. Tradition and religion are lost in the rotten sea of NDONGOISM and vice, and all the higher teaching of NKICI-ism swamped and nearly lost. And yet in trouble the BAVILI still look to their NKICICI, and after having placed their petition before him, on leaving his presence clap their hands three times and exhort him to "hold the seven[1] well in hand."

See XILUNGA, on p. 113. Père Visseg in his interesting dictionary *Fiot-Français*, 1890, gives the word "nkadia-mpemba (and so does Mr. Bentley) for the Devil; and Père Dèrouet in his very complete dictionary *Français-Fiote* tells us that "Bulunji" stands for Hell among the Bavili, which Mr. Bentley spells BILUNJI.

As to "nkadimpemba," the word strikes me as unsatisfactory; not that I mean to say the word is not used to translate the Christians' Devil in the Kongo, but because it seems to me to have been coined exactly for that purpose by the Fjort of some four hundred years ago.

I can imagine the missionaries of old impressing upon Fjort their ideas of that prong-tailed fire-loving monster they called the Devil; and I can picture the Fjort (as their wont is) discussing the proper position of this personage in their mythology. Fire and evil the Fjort connected at once with the burning of witches, and then with lightning. But the fire burnt the witch entirely, and his ashes were cast to the wind; his nkulu nobody desired, so that the Devil could hardly be said to be a witch. The white man's Devil, then, not being a witch who perishes, could only be a personage attached to the white man's lightning. He was not Nzambi Mpungu, the owner of the fire of heaven; what then was he?

Nkadi is an attendant on the nkici NZACI. It is the word which the guardian of "Nzaci" uses when addressing the people about her. "Nguli nkadi tambula malavu" means, as we should say "Companion, have a drink." But NKADI is a black personage, and the white man's Devil was not black, for he was a personage the white man feared, whereas white men do not fear black men; so they called him "NKadi ampembe," the white companion of the guardian of the lightning.

As to the word BILUNJI it is in XIVILI the plural of XILUNJI or intelligence, spirit; while BULUNJI, the deep of the spirit, is the word the natives use for grave. Both words are derived from LUNGA to blow. It is true that when one man is vexed with another he may remind him they will both meet in the grave, this being a nasty reminder of the general fate of mankind. But when a native wishes to send his "best friend" to a very nasty place he says YENDA KU BUMBA, go to Bumba, and this certainly is a very hot place indeed, for it is the spot upon which an NDOXI is burnt. Note that the family of Maluango may not intermarry with that of XIBANGA. See page 38.

Personally I should say NDONGO is nearest in meaning to our word devil.

[1] Himself and the six.

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CHAPTER XII

SACRED LANDS AND RIVERS

Sonio.—Killing the King.—The Provinces.—The Formula.—Maluango's Lesson.

I COULD not, if I would, give you an exact account of the meanings of the names of all the rivers and places in Luango, so that I will restrict my study to the river Kuilu and its tributaries, and the names of the provinces into which the composite kingdom of Luango is divided.

Starting south of the Kongo we find the name SOIO, or SONIO, as that of a province in Kongo's composite kingdom. When the natives talk of the banks of a river they stand with their backs to the sea, and call the right bank the man side and the left bank the woman side (the word SOIO might be translated as the power of life in fatherhood).

Now just opposite to the province of Sonio on the woman side of the great river Kongo, we have the province of NGOIO (the power of life in motherhood).

NEAMLAU told me that he had the right to take the cap of NGANGA NGOIO, but that as this chief was always killed on the night after his coronation he did not care to do so. It is said that when Kongo sent his sons to govern his provinces, he sent NGOIO with them as a kind of high priest, and undoubtedly the NKICICI BUNZI has its home at MBAMBA in this province or district, and its NGANGA also.

But both Sonio and Ngoio are names used at times for the whole kingdoms of Kongo and Kakongo, which makes me think that these names are really their sacred names. Certain

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it is, that just as MAKONGO had to marry a princess of SONIO, so MALUANGO had to marry a princess of NGOIO.

And just as Sonio and Ngoio for the natives represented Fatherhood and Motherhood, so BUKOIO, the sacred name for Luango, represents, as an effect, offspring (or as a cause, birth-giving power).

There is a legend which throws some light on the thoughts of the BAVILI regarding their origin. It runs thus:

BUKOIO BUNTANGUA!
The birth-giving power of the sun (Luango).
LUKATU BAKA 'NGILA MADONGA
UNA 'N NUKA 'NCIA CIALI,

translated to me "though the fish-basket be empty there still remains the smell of the fish," which I think means to say that although Luango may not be the really great kingdom, yet, as the descendant of Kongo, it at least has some of the renown attached to that great father kingdom. In other words, if Maluango (great MFUMU in his own kingdom) is not *the* MFUMU, still, in relation to Kongo, he is MANIFUMU.

This connecting of the seed of the great Kongo with the sun,[1] taken in connection with the name NGOIO (NGO NDE the moon) is very suggestive, for it leaves us to suppose that the Father Kongo must be on a line with some higher power, the moon being an intermediate effect, while the sun (the offspring and the propagator) becomes the intermediate cause, just as the offspring Luango is—that is, the father, through the mother, has a son who in his turn shall propagate his image. I know of no NGANGA BUKOIO in Luango and very few people seem to know that BUKOIO BU NTANGUA is the sacred name of the country. But MAMBUKU is the very powerful chief of the province of BUKU.

The people are now seldom, if ever, called to meet the king in his XIBILA and so valuable traditions are being lost, and it has become very difficult to piece together even the headings of these lessons, and of course, quite impossible to give them in his words.

I will now give you the names of the provinces and rivers.

[1] See p. 104.

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And here let me clearly state that the order in the following formula of twenty-four Bakici baci was obtained by the help of two or three intelligent non-Christian natives in an attempt to complete the philosophy of the Bavili. I therefore, first give a list of the titles and lands, and secondly in table form the order as established by myself and the natives. The contents of the sacred groves are the same as those given in chapter IX. In discussions it always appeared to me that these natives instinctively connected the animals, trees, and omens with the foregoing groves discussed in the last chapter, but they could give me no intelligent reason for so doing, save that they were all BAKICI BACI.

SAMANU is the most southerly province of Luango on the sea coast, just on the northern bank of the LUANGO LUICI or CHI LUANGO river which divides it from the mother province KAKONGO. The natives say that SAMANU means the waters of purity.

XIBANGA is the most northerly province divided into two parts by the waters of the KWILU river—the part to the north being the home of XIKAMACI, where they say a pretender to the throne of Maluango is never wanting.

The meaning of XIBANGA is of the quality of seed.

LUANJILI is the province joining the two above provinces together with the exception of the sea frontage of BUALI, a strip of land containing the road from Buali to the beach. It is in this province that the kings of Luango are buried. LUANJILI means of fused rocks.

XIKAMBA is the centre inland province facing the Mayombe on the east, and its meaning is of the quality of informing or calling. It joins NKONDI to MBUKU.

NKONDI is the province on the South-east of BUALI where the sisters of Maluango reside and have children from among whom the king's successor is chosen. The word means a hunter and this connects the province with fruitfulness (see p. 103).

MBUKU is the province to the East of BUALI and north-east of XIKAMBA, where MAMBUKU resides and guards the Eastern gate of the kingdom—the province where the sun rises. MBUKU means explosion.

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These six provinces surround BUALI, the centre province in the middle of which MALUANGO has his XIBILA or sacred grove. The meaning of BUALI is the deep of breathing life.

The sea is called MBU, the deep, an enclosed space. It is at the mouth of the river, where whirlpools are created by the meeting of the fresh and the sea waters that the deeps of maternity exist, which they call MBUNGU NTWALI.

The KUILU, is the principal river of the kingdom of Luango, the word means to and from the sky. Into this river the tributaries LUICI, LUKULU, and the LUALI run.

NYANGA is the name of the lake and means the repetition of the four, and it is here that the NYARI, the name by which the KUILU is known in its upper reaches, has its source.[1]

The Sacred Rivers and Provinces and Contents of Sacred Grove.

BUKOIO

	Rivers.	(Contents of the grove.)	Lands.
1.	KUILU.	MACI (rain water). MBU (salt water).	SAMANU.
2.	LUICI.	XIVUNGA (seed). MTI (tree).	XIBANGA.
3.	LUKULU.	NZO (house). XINKONKOLO (oyster shell).	LUANJILI.
4.	LUALI.	XINIOKA (snake). XAMA (snake).	XIKAMBA.
5.	NYANGA.	MBIZI or NFU (fish). SUSU (fowl).	NKONDI.
6.	NYARI.	VUMUNA (animal). XIBULU (beast).	MBUKU.

BUALI.

In the above order it will be seen by the meaning of the words that the order of the six categories is maintained.

[1] The meanings of these words are: Kuilu, to or from heaven; Luici, primeval essence; Lukulu, of the spirit, of the departed, or of the ray of light; Luali, of the breathing life, Nyanga, continuance of being; Nyari, of the road of being.

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The following lesson, if not exactly what Maluango used to say to his people, at any rate is a close reproduction of it. I have talked over these questions with him many times, although I never heard him address his people in a sacred grove. In the reading of these symbols it will be noted that my friends have as it were doubled the formula in the middle and taken the first and sixth families together, and worked down and up towards the line dividing the third and fourth.

Maluango is supposed to be speaking.

Nyari—Kuilu.
The way of Being, to and from sky.
The Source and the mouth of the river must not be separated in your minds.
God is the Source of all things the
Nyari. Great ruler (Nyari) in heaven as I am the ruler on earth—
Kuilu. From heaven to heaven do we come and go—
Vumuna. We suckle our young like cattle
Xibulu. And know our wives like the beasts of the field.
Xibila. But as we come together let us remember that we
Xibila. Are also one with God so that our
Mbuku. living offspring born through the birth-producing powers given to us by the Sun may also inherit and absorb the bright and
Samanu. pure waters of morality.
Nyanga—Luici—Life
Nyanga. The waters of life that have risen from their source are accumulated in the lake and as they flow onward
Luici. are mingled with those of the river of primeval matter.
Mfu. It is true that in our lower nature we are as the fish of the sea and the
Susu. birds in the air who bring forth abundantly,
Kondi. but let us remember our higher
nature and seek to live.
Xivunga Mti. rather as the tree and herbs that have seed in themselves and also bear fruit

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Xi Banga. and seed. For on the wrong side of the river Kuilu lives the usurper who would lead us to wrong thoughts and actions and the consequent punishment.

Lukulu and Luali.

Two other great rivers flow into our river of Being, that of spirit and nature. And thus by

Lukulu. spiritual law through the spirit of our ancestors we are connected with and of God, by natural

Luali. law we are connected with and of the Sun. In us are two great lights, the light uncreated and the created light.

Nioka. In our lower nature the snakes that crawl

Xama. and feel and give birth to

Xikamba. offspring are at one with us, but rather should we be called to look to what

Nkongolo. the colours of the rainbows symbolise to us than to their snake-like nature, and to,

Nzo. the house of love that contains all the mysteries of generation, so that our offspring may be in death in

Luanjili. union with Nzambi even as parts of rocks are fused in one by heat.

Such are the lessons I would have you learn from my title Fumu, under which I am the way or will and power that has been sent by my father to rule all living things in the sea and rivers and on the land in this kingdom of Luango; Lamba Dende (to cook kernels) walk cautiously if you wish to attain the great end in life, and do no wrong so that your conscience will not force you to come to me crying Dianu (kill me, put me out of the country).

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CHAPTER XIII

SACRED TREES

Nkasa trees.—Sacred trees and the Bakici Baci.—Muema and other trees.—Secret Societies.—The Formula.—Maluango's Lesson.

SACRED TREES AND HERBS.

I HAVE gathered sufficient evidence to convince myself that each grove has a tree sacred to it, but all these trees are not NKICI-CI. For instance I am told that the silk cotton NFUMA tree is NKICI to the grove XIVUMA, but the NFUMA tree is not NKICI-CI. Then some trees appear to be sacred to more than one grove, as for instance the NKUMBI tree, apparently sacred to MPUNGU and also to NYIMINA, and the NUMBU tree sacred to NYAMBI, BUKULU and others. My informants however differ so on this subject that in the following study I shall leave out all mention of the groves, and simply give the list of the twenty-four trees and herbs that are BAKICI-BACI, without bringing them in each instance into connection with the philosophy.

You must not conclude that in giving you this list of the sacred trees and herbs of the Bavili, I have exhausted their stock of medicine trees and shrubs. There are many other well-known plants and trees that have to do with medicine and NDONGOISM (fetish), but they are not BAKICI-BACI, or as we should say, sacred powers. MISENGO, MAKAKATA, XUMU, MVUTU, LUSINGO, all enter generally into fetish as medicines. Then there is the great tree NKASA, the powdered bark of which is given to people accused of witchcraft and the

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MBUNDU CITU. We are naturally left in wonder that two such members of the vegetable kingdom are not sacred, the BAVILI however say they are not, and we must be guided by them in this matter whatever the result may be.

There are no Nkasa trees near to Luango; that is to say, we must go for a walk of some twelve miles to find one. On one occasion we left Luango early in the morning, determined to photograph a few Nkasa and other "sacred" trees, as we thought them at the time.

We arrived at Ximoko, or Buku li Buali, the town of Mambuku Prati, the nephew of Maniluemba the Maluango-elect. Maluango had now left the town in which we first met him and come to Buali, his capital: and meanwhile on the road we heard that we should not find Mambuku at home. "He had gone to see Maluango," was the only answer to our question. "What has he gone there for?" No answer. Thus when we arrived, the front door of the "little palace" Mambuku had been good enough to build as a chamber for his guests was locked. We walked in therefore through the opening at the back. Then we plied Mambuku's mother with various questions (his wives were within the enclosure called Lumbu, already described).

It then appeared that the mother was suffering from an evil spirit that had already troubled her in one of her legs, and had now commenced to swell her fingers up. She showed us the hand to prove that there was no humbug about the palaver. Moreover, that same morning very early Makawsó had got up and gone outside his shimbec in one direction, while his wife went into the grass in the other direction. Makawso was then, he said, suddenly attracted by the terrible cries of his wife. He rushed to her assistance, and the leopard that had already seized her by the throat ran away. The poor woman was in a fearful state, but they hoped to save her life. Mambuku, as the father of his people, had gone to consult the great priest NGANGA NVUMBA, or Maluango.

After breakfast, I said I would start to find the Nkasa-tree which a small boy said he thought he knew of. As we passed through another town the boy said we had better ask

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the women to guide us, for they generally knew where these trees were owing to the clearings made for them by their husbands for their plantations. So I asked them, and they laughed and giggled, the silly things, and said they would follow us, as they were going into the woods to gather the leaves of the *fubu*, it being nearly the time for mat-making. Down we dived into a wooded valley, and when we had reached the bottom we stopped to talk to some natives who were busy collecting palm-wine. Did they know of the whereabouts of an Nkasa-tree?

"Yes."

"Would the spokesman guide us to it?"

He was busy, but the direction in which we were going would not take us to one. I called upon the small boy for an explanation. The boy and the native discussed the question, and the men and the women laughed. The women then went on their way jabbering.

The tree the boy wished to show me was not an Nkasa-tree. I then asked the speaker to neglect his business for a consideration, and lead us to the tree he knew of. He growled, but at last was persuaded to accompany us, and we went back by the road we had come. Our guide was in a hurry and ran; we ran after him. Then he dived into the wood and we followed him. Then he said he would have to find the tree, and he left us, and, alas! we saw him no more.

Then we followed a path which led us out of that wood, and when we once more got into the open we saw one of our party (who they said was a fool) reclining upon the grass resting. He said he knew where an Nkasa-tree existed. "Why, then, had he not taken us to it straight away? Was it far?"

"No."

"Then let us be off."

Finally, about an hour's walk brought us to a clearing in the wood, where women were about to plant Indian corn and mandioca. By straining our necks and standing on the half-dried trunk of one of the felled trees which lay around us we caught sight of a few of the top branches of the Nkasa-tree, which we photographed. Then entering the dark wood we examined the trunk. The tree measured some twelve feet in

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circumference, and there appeared upon its trunk a great oblong patch devoid of bark. I wanted to take a sample of the bark, but I broke the blade of my knife in trying to cut some of it off; it was far harder than I had imagined. Tired and weary, but satisfied that I had added one more *sacred* tree to my collection, I arrived at Mambuku's town too late to even think of returning to Luango that night.

Mambuku having returned and informed himself of the object of our visit turned to the fool, and, patting him on the head, said, "So *you* knew where the Nkasa-tree was?" and the fool said, "Yes, he knew where all the medicine-trees were."

In conversation with some of my followers I had already discovered that the nkasa-tree was not a sacred tree; it was not *Nkicici*, but like all other trees that grow unplanted in the "sacred ground," if it happened to find its home there, in that sense it might be said to be *Nkici*.

I did not trust my friends, so I now asked Mambuku, who replied, "No, it is not *Nkicici*," but merely a tree which supplied them with the poisonous bark in Nkasa palaver.

MUEMA is the mangrove tree. As you know, the heavy trunk of this tree rests on a trellis-like mass of roots that appear to do all they can to keep its body from being in any way brought into contact with the filthy swampy matter at its base. The seeds of this tree also germinate in the air, and it is only when the plant is of a certain age that it drops from its parent stem into the soft mud below. The word might be translated as the essence or kernel in being. The verb EMA or OMA meaning to become dry, while ENA or ONA means he, who. Connected with the protecting NKICICI LUNGULULUBU and ideas of wind, we can understand that this tree gives the Bavili a very spiritual symbol.

THE TWENTY-FOUR BAKICI-BACI WITHIN THE FORMULA.

XILIKA. This is a large tree having a small fruit which when it falls to the ground and dries separates into two parts This seed enters into the medicine MBUMBA.

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NKANDIKA is also a great tree that bears a large fruit containing twenty-four seeds which enter into many medicines. The word has the meaning "to enclose." A man closes his house and places a few leaves of manioc, banana, or palm tree, about the latch and that means that no woman may enter therein. This custom is called LU KANDU BA KANDIKILA.

BI SULA BI NKANDI. The husks and shells of the palm fruit used in the smoking of dead bodies.

BIUMU. A string plant giving a bitter tasting fruit from which an ointment is made for drying up wounds.

NKALA is a bushy tree something like a willow that is planted over graves and from the wood of which the posts of the entrance gate to the towns called MABILI are made.

MISAKASAKA is a string plant which they wind round the NKALA posts of MABILI. SAKA is to chase, while SAKASAKA "a little chasing," gives us the idea of the quick little waves of the sea following one after the other.

MIKWICI is a cane-like plant, planted close to the NKALA poles.

MACISA is also a cane-like plant growing at the foot of the NKALA poles.

XILAWLO is the wild "Cœur de boeuf," known as the LAWLO NTANDU or the wayside "pawpaw." Its fruit is of a yellow colour and it is eaten by weary travellers on the march. It is one of those shrubs whose growth does not appear to be affected by the yearly prairie fires. It is burnt and scorched each year, but its blackened branches sprout and bear their yearly crop as if the fire had merely purged them of their dead matter and given them new life.

XIFILO is a bushy tree whose fruit is of a ruddy colour, and the leaves of which, together with those of the XILAWLO enter into the medicines connected with MBUMBA.

MAVUKA is a string plant used in binding the tooth of the Hippo (VUBU or NGUVU). This plant and the tooth is called MBUMBA XIDONGO and it is brought out by the prince on (Sundays) the fourth day SONA. Having chewed some KOLA nut, he spits the mass upon the part of the tooth that is

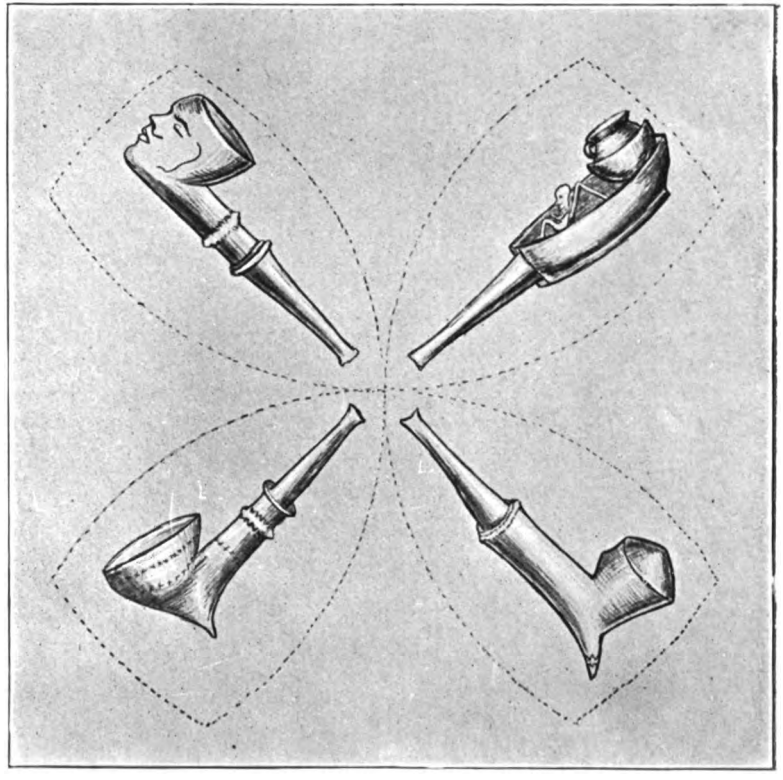
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PLATE Xa



PLATE Xb



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bound by the MAVUKA to give him the power to overcome the wiles of the witches who would prevent his propagating his image.

MATONDI is the truffle found in the ground in the woods and eaten by the natives.

MUAMBA is a large tree producing a soft yellow wood of which the natives make figures (ZINKAWCI). It is the word used for the juice or broth made from the fruit of the palm tree.

NKANA is a lofty tree from the bark of which bracelets and anklets are made. Its small fruit enters into the MBUMBA medicines and MBUMBA is the smell of the earth. The wood of this tree must not be burnt in any town where the MBUMBA medicine exists.

MBUBU is the tree representing respectful fear (VUMI). BUBA (the spider) also means an assembly of many things wrapped up as in a parcel. The spider is said to have made a ladder up to heaven to fetch down fire.[1]

NTETE is a very high tree and serves as a mark or sign that the land on which it stands is near the headquarters of the King. This tree is now a very rare one, in Luango I only know of one and that is situated just on the BUALI side of the river LUBENDO which divides that province from LUANJILI. The wood is used to make the handles of axes, hoes, etc. The meaning of the word is "First, principal." NKAKI NTETE chief and first wife.

NLOMBA is a fine tree sacred to KUNGU, but found in other woods under which the dead who die with their eyes open are placed. It is said that such dead want some question deciding or at least debating before they will submit to burial.

MBOTA is the lonchocarpus (Bentley) producing a very hard yellow wood. The ideas connected with the tree are those of endurance, production, excellence.

NKUMBI is the large tree already mentioned as being at the Eastern entrance to Maluango's XIBILA or sacred ground. It is here that the king elect, encouraged by NGANGA MBUMBA,

[1] *Folklore of the Fiort*, p. 74.

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must fight all pretenders who present themselves to dispute his right to the throne.

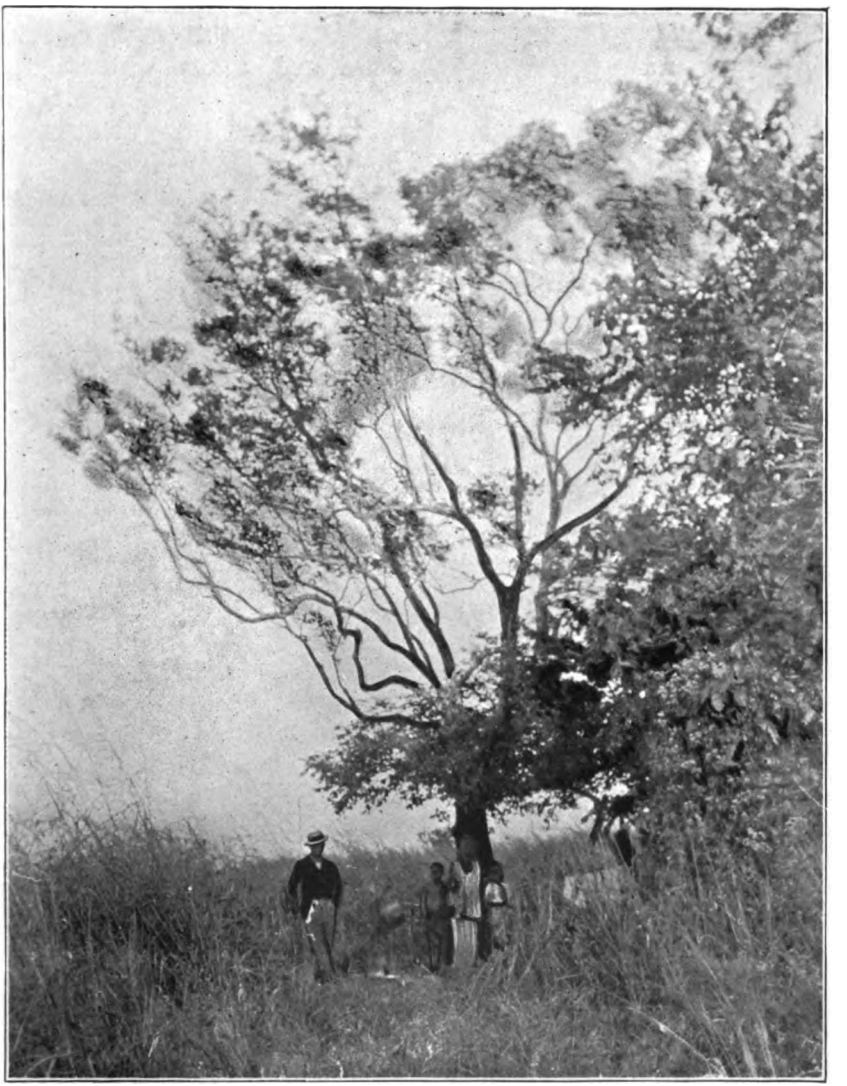
SEXI (Pl. XI) is the old market tree situated on the NZILA NZAMBI or high road leading from Maluango's XIBILA to the sea. Here the body of the defunct Maluango is placed just previous to being carried away for burial.

NUMBU is a very great, soft wood tree, and the one situated in the KONGOZOVO of XIENJI marks the place where the people of MAMBOMA meet those of Maluango bearing the dead body, and, chasing them away with oyster and cockle shells, take charge of the body and carry it off to burial. It is sacred to BUKULU and NYAMBI and other groves.[1]

MBA, the palm tree. Maluango, the head of his race in the full vigour of manhood, when judging his people always wears a sash of palm leaves across his shoulders. This is called NDEMBE-DEMBE. This word will carry your thoughts to the word NDEMBO or the secret society, the rites of which are graphically described to us in Mr. Bentley's dictionary, page 506, but the only secret society I know of among the BAVILI is that of the BADUNGO, who are the king's policemen, and were chiefly used by him as detectives to deter his people from committing acts of immorality likely to cause the wrath of ZAMBI or the power BUNZI. The Mayombe I am told use the word NDUNGO and NKIMBA for one and the same person. I am inclined to believe with Consul Roger Casement that the NKIMBA, as a secret society, and as known south of the Congo, is a degenerate conglomeration of native and Jesuitical formation. The BADUNGU wear a wooden mask and are dressed in feathers or dried banana leaves, carrying the snout of the saw fish in their hands as a sign of office. (See illustration in *Seven Years Among the Fjort*, pages 13 and 49.) Naturally as the people degenerated these policemen abused their powers and became a nuisance to the people who, in time, as the power of the king waned, suppressed them.

[1] I notice that in Mr. Bentley's dictionary of the Kongo language the word NUMBU is translated aromatic plant (generic) incense. The word the Bavili use for these plants is BIFUNDI, but I cannot find, any trace of their being used as incense.

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SEXI Tree,

See page 132.

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Some of you may have noticed Kongo pipes ornamented with the picture of a palm tree, among the branches of which quite near to the fruit the snake NLIMBA is coiled. At the foot of this palm tree a few straight lines figure a well. This picture is called NIOKA MU ILU, MPIWILA MACI, BOMA (KUNUA MACI understood), that is (the man seeing), a snake on high being thirsty, fears (to drink the waters of the well).[1]

LEMBE is the copper bracelet worn by princes who are married according to the rites of LEMBE. Now those women wearing the LEMBE bracelet may eat all kinds of palm fruit (NDENDE=a palm nut), but those wearing the NGOFO bracelet may not eat the all yellow nuts of the BA LI NTUNDABA a certain kind of palm tree.

The fence or LUMBU, wherein the wives after the rites of NGOFO and LEMBE live, should be made of the fronds of the palm tree, but if made of papyrus must have a branch of the palm tree showing here and there.

No ordinary woman while still capable of bearing children may eat of the yellow nuts called MATUNDABA, or the nut having a small kernel of the palm tree called SOMBO, but boys and men may eat all these nuts.

NSANDA is the Ficus religiosa or wild fig tree which spreads its branches over the market. It is a sacred tree in Luango but more common as a market tree in KAKONGO.

NKONDO (Pl. VII*b*) is the Baobab tree. Its leaves mixed with palm oil are still eaten in the Kongo much as the leaves of the manioc are. Water poured on to the contents of its enormous pods makes a refreshing drink for a fever patient. Some of their dead are (everlastingly so they say) preserved within their hollow trunks. Cut it down and its fallen trunk throws roots down into the earth and shoots branches into the air with a persistent determination not to die.

The NFUMA tree is not sacred, but it is a sign which says "from this place you come."

[1] I think there is such a pipe in the Exeter Museum.

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Sacred Trees.

MUKMA.

NKUMBI.	XILIKA. NKADIKA.	MUAMBA.
SEXI.	BIUMU. BISULA BI NKANDI.	NKANA.
NUMBU.	NKALA. MISAKASAKA.	MBUBU.
MBA.	MKWICI. MACISA.	NTETE.
NSANDA.	XILOLO. XIFILO.	NLOMBA.
NKONDO.	MAVUKA. MATONDI.	MBOTA.

NFUMA.

In this case it will be hard for the Europeans to connect the six groups with the six categories because it is a case of comparing spirit to matter, which, of course, can only be done by analogy. It can most easily be done by first taking, as before, Maluango's lesson, and then tracing in it the ideas connected with the categories.

We have already seen what Maluango said with regard to the lands and rivers. I now give his lessons drawn from the sacred trees.

NKONDO. The sisters of Maluango are allowed to choose a man each from any part of the country as their husbands. The man thus chosen becomes virtually the slave of his royal wife, and must have no other wife or concubine. When Maluango is finally crowned king he also must marry a princess of Ngoio and put away his wives or concubines that he may have lived 'with while he reigned as Nganga Nvumba.

The princesses must live in Kondi and here on the death of a Maluango, Mamboma and the other princes must repair to choose a successor.

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MATONDI. Not only must the ruler-elect be beloved by the people, but he must be a perfect man capable
MAVUKA. of procreating, or, as we should say,
MBOTA. excellent, enduring and good man. That is in every way a noble man.
NKUMBI. He is led to the Nkumbi tree to meet the people and is encouraged by Mamboma to fight any one who has any pretension to the crown. Strong in the knowledge of the purity
XILIKA. of his birth and that which has fallen
NKANDIKA. on him, and is within him from above, he looks upon himself as
MUAMBA. the essence of all virtue.
In this physical nature he is surrounded
NSANDA. by his courtiers as the market tree is by the people beneath its shade.
XILAWLO. The fires and trials of life have but given him new life and a consciousness of Self, and he feels that
XIFILO. his intuition will guide him so that
NLOMBA. all his discussions will be remembered by the people.
SEXI Unconscious of wrong-doing he fears not death, and the knowledge that it is his duty to bury his uncle
BIUMU. whose body is now being dried by the
BISULABINKANDI. fire and smoke from husks and shells of the palm kernels makes
NKANA. him all the more resolved to fight through his present troubles.
MBA. And now that he has succeeded his uncle the Ntawtela and is married to the welfare of his people
MIKWICI. the time has come when he must
MALISA. fulfil his promises and become
NTETE. in reality the head of his State
MISAKASAKA. And that he may follow in the footsteps of

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NUMBU.	Ntawtela and become absorbed in the deep of the Spirit, he must
NKALA.	remember his enduring and priestly powers, and live to the end,
MBUBU	in the respectful fear of God as Overseer and Chief from whom all come.

Such is the pure and kingly life; born of a royal mother, the only wife of one chosen husband; himself the husband of one royal wife.

In order to trace the connection of the trees and the categories the reader must refer to the table of associated ideas given on p. 109.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE OMENS

Bunzi.—The Nerves.—Omens: the dog, the frog, birds, snakes, colours.—Double meaning of words.—The formula.

OMENS, ETC.

IT is said that BUNZI the South wind brought NSACI and XIMBUKA with him. While both these are the names of BAKICI BANKONDI, or "household gods," they are also the words used for thunder and lightning. NSACI (or NZACI), Antonio Lavadeiro told me some years ago, on one occasion sent his 24 dogs and they killed one of his companions and burnt a palm tree (*Folklore of the Fjort*, page 72.) At the time I wondered why there should have been 24 dogs, but now I feel assured that these dogs simply represented the 24 parts or pairs of intermediate nerves, which the natives attribute to the trunk of his body.

There is no longer any doubt in my mind that this constantly recurring 6 by 4 is part of the system of native philosophy.

Thus they believe there are three pairs of nerves and a fourth as the cause, six sets of four pairs as that which goes between, and one and three pairs as the effect. Which counting the joining fourth of the causative set and the joining one of the effective set as one pair would make up the 31 pairs of nerves in the human body, according to the native.

Putting all this on one side for the moment let me tell you what I know of their omens, which are so nearly connected with their nervous system.

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Thunder and lightning out of season portend the death of a prince and as such are a bad sign; in season they are very welcome.

MBWA or MBULU is the dog. The MBULU must not cross one's path at the commencement of a journey; if it does it must be taken as a sign of misfortune and the traveller must put off his departure for a day or two. The meaning of the word BULU is a valley, an animal, a being gifted with sensibility, a person without spirit or reason. BWA is now used rather as an appellation for the tame dog which their stories tell us was first sent to town to procure food for some of his friends, but enjoying the warmth of the fire there, determined to remain as the companion of man.

A man met a beautiful dog on one occasion and was so pleased with its appearance that he determined to take it home with him. As it was raining heavily he took it with him inside his shimbec and lighting a fire proceeded to dry and warm his pet. Suddenly there was an explosion and neither man, dog, nor shimbec were ever seen again. This dog was NSACI, so Antonio told me.

BAKICI-BACI.

XUULA, the croaking frog, has two voices. When you hear it croaking in a stuttering guttural way you may expect evil When on the contrary it utters a soft purring kind of croak all is well. The word ULA is connected with the smashing and crushing that goes on, on earth and in rivers during a storm when trees are falling and waters rushing madly towards the sea.

MBIXI is the little bird that sings LU ELO-ELO-ELO. And if you are going out fishing in the sea and you hear this pleasant sound you are sure to have good luck.

SUSU, the fowl. It is a bad sign to hear a cock crow after 6 p.m. and before 3 a.m.

XIXEXI, a very small bird. When this bird sings XIXEXI and you hear it on your way to fish, it is a good sign ensuring luck, but if it sings TIETIE turn back, as you will catch nothing.

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KULU = the horned owl. When at night this bird comes near to you and you hear it hooting it is a sign of death that is about to overtake you or one near to you.

NXECI is a fairly large black bird, whose wings are tipped with white. Its song KE-E-E portends "witch palaver."

KNA KNA, a slender black bird with a long tail, that is continually crying out KNA KNA. When the Bavili hear this bird they conclude that there is something wrong with MABILI, not the power but the NKICINKONDI or entrance gate to their village, or there is some sickness hanging about some one dear to them. This bird came from the East with MABILI.

MVIA is a brown bird that cries out VIA, reminding the native of witch burning palaver. It is a bad sign. VIA=to burn.

NUMVU is a large dark-brown bird, the fish eagle, that lives near to rivers. When it is all one colour it is a bad sign, but when you meet one with its wings tipped with white it is a good sign.

XIFUTU NKUBU = the screech owl. Like the KULU, to hear it hoot is a sign of death.

MBENDA = the field rat. If this rat runs across your path from left to right it is a good sign; not so good when it crosses from right to left. Should it run towards you it is a bad sign, but if it runs along in front of you in the way you are going, "Oh! that is very good."

MPAWLO PAWLO = the common owl. When you hear the hooting of this owl you may feel happy, for it means "Be at rest, all is well!"

THE SNAKES AND COLOURS OF THE RAINBOW OR THE NERVES IN CONNECTION WITH THE SENSES AND PERCEPTIONS.

MPILI, the spitting adder, strikes terror into the noisy and is evidently connected with the sense of hearing.

NDUMA is a black coloured snake (Python?), from about 6 to 8 feet in length, that is said to lift itself on its tail and strike a person dead with its head if he attempts to

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pass it. Men wearing the iron bracelet of NGOFO must ask themselves the following questions on meeting with it :—

Have we eaten the flesh of any animal that we have killed on the same day?
Have we pointed our knives at any one?
Did we know our wives on the day of rest, NSONA?
Have we looked upon women during their periods?
Have we eaten those long chili peppers instead of confining ourselves to the smaller kinds?

This snake causes man to reflect and reason.

MBUMBA is a great snake found in wells; it loves moisture, and is allied to the BOMA. Women are more especially afraid of MBUMBA, and after drawing the fish and water out of a well, they will run away and leave their fish if they discover that MBUMBA has been hidden in it after all. The word means moisture, secret, "to draw up the earth round the roots of a plant" when the smell of the earth is said to impart some secret to women. Nearly connected with MBUMBA is the plain copper bracelet of the NGANGA MBUMBA, and the NLUNGA SONGO. This connects MBUMBA with marriage and smell.

MACI MA XILEMBE = green. The water in which the King has washed his hands is called MACI MAXILEMBO or DEMBO. An ordinary man is said to wash his hands (SUKULA MIOKO), but a prince (SUKULA NDEMBO) his fingers. MACI MA XILEMBE is the water expressed from the five-fingered leaves of the MANIOC.[1] LEMBA means to touch mentally.

[1] The early Portuguese residents affirm that when they arrived in Africa the natives fed on bananas, sesame, and liico (by which perhaps they meant what we call Baku mushrooms), all which, they say, were indigenous. After a severe famine had ravaged the land, they say that they *introduced* the mandioca, Indian corn, and sweet potatoes. This is possibly true. From the fact that the mandioca, under the name of Mpanzi is sacred to the South wind, Bunzi, and that in the name for the colour green we find a reference to the same plant, we might, however, with reason doubt their having introduced it in the country north of the Kongo. But the leaves of the mandioca are very like to those of the Nkondo, or Baobab tree; and we know that the natives do with the leaves of this

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NLAWLO = yellow. LAWLOKA is to over-look; hence to pardon. It is the word used after a person has undergone the "hot knife" test and escaped unharmed signifying that he is innocent, so that the yellow colour is connected with this kind of examination.

MUAMBA = orange. It is the juice or essence of the palm nut. As an exclamation it is used to mean that what has been said, done, or seen, is very good; it therefore expresses appreciation.

MPILU = purple. This word could be written VILU or BIDU and that means the soot smeared upon the faces of people who mourn their dead. Hence VILUKA or MPILUKA is to change the face of a thing. This change of face expresses grief.

BUNDI = Indigo blue. The natives now tie a piece of blue baft, in which a bit of skin is fastened, around their heads as a sign of mourning. This band (TANTA) used to be made of folded grass cloth dyed nearly black.

MBAMBA is the green snake measuring from four to eight feet in length. The three snakes MBUMBA, NDUMA, and MPILI are classified by the natives under the name BOBO (the bearing ones) the three that we are now discussing, *i.e.* MBAMBA, NSANDA, and NLIMBA as Sasa (the procreating ones).

MBAMBA is harmful but not a deadly snake. ZIMBAMBA are the strips of the Mbamba palm used as string. The sense of touch is figured by this snake. SIMBA is to handle.

NSANDA is a light yellow snake about eight feet long, which will only bite those "whose day has come." It lives in the grass. It is one of the snakes said to guard LUNGULULUBU. The sense of sight. The word SANDA means to search and see which you prefer.

NLIMBA, about eight feet in length, is the orange-coloured snake that guards the palm nuts of certain trees so that those who are forbidden to eat them may not obtain them. In this

tree just what they do with those of the mandioca, *i.e.*, boil and pound them in water to prepare them as food, and *maci maxilembe* may as a colour be said to be the proper name for the waters of both and may originally have been applied to the Baobab water only; "*lembe*" is not a name for mandioca.

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way it is connected with the sense of taste. It is the diminutive of the NDAMBA or XAMA.

XAMA = snake, written also NDAMA, NCIAMA, TIAMA. It is said to be red in colour but it is seldom seen (save as a part of a rainbow). It is they say of enormous proportions and lives in the woods. If anyone kills it the rains will not fall. Pieces of it are occasionally found (probably talc) and highly prized.

There are two great XAMA, XAMA NGONZOLA and XAMA LUAYI.

It is said that the snake NLIMBA grows into the snake NDUNDO which in its turn becomes XAMA LUAYI, the beneficent rainbow that drives away the evil XAMA NGONZOLA. On the other hand, NSANDA grows into the snake NKULA NTIETI which becomes XAMA NGONZOLA. That is, choice or the desire to choose that which is not his in the market-place leads one to the chasing of the wrong voice which carries one to destruction.

Another example of this double meaning given to words or sentences by the native is found in the following saying given to me by my old head man (now dead) Francisco. He said that when the floods caused by XAMA NGONZOLA were wrecking their villages and plantations, the princes of the Bavili raised their hands to their breasts and then lifting them up on high let them drop again to their sides (the sign of the rainbow) saying ETU (our) SE (father) LE (that is) I (and) LI (who is) A (of) MBUKU (the exploder) ZAMBI (God) UI (KO understood), may he not hear. Francisco put in quite a lot of aspirates in this sentence, which would go to show that the saying came from the people to the East of Luango who still make use of them, the Bavili using V in their place. I have omitted these to make the sentence more easily comprehended. Now the saying used by the people generally in Luango is ETUCI (clouds for MATUTI) LE (that are) I (and) LIAMBUKO (never mind) ZAMBI (God) UI KO (may he not hear).

The valley or deep, out of which XAMA NGONZOLO is said to rise, is called BULU LE MBOMA, the valley of fear.

MBENGA = red (MENGA = blood).

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It is not very hard for a native to connect the senses with the six categories.

Hearing is the opposite to exclaiming, which they connect with air and the heavens and so with water.

Reason they connect with ideas of foundation, ground, solidity just as we do.

Smell they connect with marriage, and hence with desire and heat.

Touch implies motion for them.

Sight they connect through coveteousness, with abundance and wealth or plenty.

Taste they connect with eating, and through eating with life.

The order *is the natural one taken from the colours of the rainbow.*

Omens.

Colours of rainbow.		*Rainbow snakes.*
MPILU.	XUULA. MBIXI.	MPILI.
BUNDI.	SUSU. XIXEXI.	NDUMA.
XIDUTA.	KULU. NXECI.	MBUMBA.
MACI MAXILEMBE.	KNAKNA. MVIA.	MBAMBA.
NLAWLO.	NUMVU. XIFUTU NKUBU.	NSANDA.
MUAMBA.	NBENDA. MPÂULO PAŬLO.	NLIMBA.

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CHAPTER XV

SACRED ANIMALS.

The Leopard.—Witchcraft,—Story of Ngo as an Old Woman.—Xina.—Classes of Bina.—Tabu Animals.—The Formula.—Bavili Laws and Lessons.

XINA.

THE King as NTINU LUKENE or the one who advises his people to fly from the custom of the Leopard.

NGO the leopard is the XINA of the people of KONGO (including the provinces south of the Kongo, as well as KAKONGO and LUANGO) and as such it is NKICICI It is the only animal having the title of Fumu. All palavers are commenced with the words NGONGONGO NGETE NZAMBI. NGO is the name by which a woman who is capable of bearing royal children is known ; the wife of the first KONGO. The leopard's skin is used as a charm against smallpox, and the MANKAKA'S (captain executioner) hat of office is also made of it.

In Jan. 1902, the writer was standing near to his house when a crowd of natives passed him carrying the body of a dead leopard [1] to Luango for sale. The head of the beast was covered with a cloth so that its eyes should not be seen. And a lady called NGO who was standing near to him began to cry.

"Why do you cry?" the writer asked.

"Ah," she answered, "the brutes would not have treated

[1] In *Seven Years among the Fjort* I give part of the custom attending the killing of NGO, and in notes on the *Folklore of the Fjort* I supplement this. Many of the stories also throw some light on the character of this animal. The skins of the leopard are sent to BUNZI when rain is wanted by the King for his people. See *ante*, p. 45.

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my namesake in this rough way in the olden days with impunity."

The BAVILI call the leopard XIKUMBUA, which might be translated as the calumniator, but the BATEKE still call it KENE, which might be translated, the one opposed to nobility.

As this animal is looked upon as the mother of all animals, we cannot be wrong in saying that she is descended from ZAMBI through XIKAMACI and her offspring XIKANGA and NXILUKA, who are said to be the parents of an animal and a wooden figure.

That the leopard is connected with witchcraft is certain, even if the words "NDONGO" and NDOXI did not so clearly point to the fact, for we were warned by MAMBUKU[1] at

[1] While at my frugal meal, MAMBUKU, who had been squatting on the ground near to me, got up and left me. I lit a cigarette and walked up and down in the moonlight by the side of the bananas MAMBUKU had planted as a kind of fence around a cleared space, within which his dwellings and outhouses were built. At last I retired to rest upon the bed of boards prepared for me, but just as I was falling to sleep the midnight silence was suddenly broken by a shout. I recognised the voice of MAMBUKU immediately, and thought at first that he must have met with some accident. Another grunt-like shout, and I knew that MAMBUKU was simply calling the attention of his people to something he had to say to them. And this is what he said:

"Ur! ur!" (to wake his people up).

"Nuvula!" (Listen!)

"Ngonde moci u bakana kubella mukulu, abu mimibakana ku bella mu luzala." (Last month my mother had a bad leg, now she is sick in her finger.) "Manwela Ngoma! Manwela Ngomo! Anjea unkruntu u kela ku ngandu.' (Manwela Ngoma! you are head man of the village.) "Mani ngombo! Anjea uzabici ma awso." (Mani ngombo, the name of his suffering mother, you know all about it). "Bene Bawso! Nu keba mbizi Xikumbu una untambala befi inu manga 'ntu ntese." (All of you! Beware that when the leopard comes you don't receive him, as we shall divine who he may be.) "Beno! Mundela naka kunxitula lau!" (All of you! The white man is sleeping in town, and if I make a noise he will think me a fool.)

There was a pause and a great silence; then MANWELA NGOMA from his corner of the village replied:

"Minu unkruntu, anjea veka Mani Puati, anjea veka bakaci libamba liaku, anjea veka ubakamba, minu bawso i bakambila baci kumpe, nsamu au ba veka." (I am the head man, you yourself are Mani Puati, you own us all, you have called upon me, I called upon all, they do not hear, it is their palaver.)

Then came another pause; after which up spoke the sick mother, Mani ngombe.

"Bobo ntubila xibene xiaku tata, ntuba minu muntu yaka kalilanga enxenzo mu nitu." (The father has just now told the truth, I tell you that I keep on suffering pain in my body.)

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XIMOKO that someone with "NDONGO" in his stomach, had willed the leopard to come to their town, or someone in that very town, perhaps, was ready to use the leopard as a means of destroying his neighbour's life. And someone also with evil thoughts was causing the mother to keep on suffering.

The BAVILI fully believe that certain BANTU A NDONGO have this power over leopards and crocodiles, and that others who have not the power themselves, knowing their brother NDONGO, ask them a favour of the loan of the wer-beast. The MUNTU A NDONGO, or wizard as you perhaps would call him, does not in this case change himself into the leopard or the crocodile, for he may be talking to you in one place while the beast is doing his will in another. Neither need he die first, so that what some people like to call his "soul" may enter and possess the animal.

The man who has NDONGO in his stomach will search out an NGANGA, or doctor, who has the medicine XIKUMBU XIMANPANDU, and ask him to sell him some. The NGANGA will ask him if he is really desirous to obtain it, and the MUNTU A NDONGO answers yes. The NGANGA sells him the medicine. The MUNTU A NDONGO says he cannot see the leopard or crocodile. Then the NGANGA takes the medicine and gives the MUNTU A NDONGO some, and rubs some into his eyes, and asks him if he can now see the leopard. The MUNTU A NDONGO answers yes, and goes his way conscious that he owns a leopard or crocodile to do his will.

All leopards do not lend themselves to these horrible practices, and such as do not are said to belong to the BAKICI BACI, or the people who are owners of sacred ground.

Since my visit to XIMOKO I have noticed the following sad cases of the ravages said to have been worked by the wicked class of leopards:

1. XIKAWMO is a man who has lived with white men all his life, can read and write, and wears European clothes. He was with his master in Somboa, quite near to Luango, and it was here that the following sad event occurred. Three

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A Native Village.

See page 146.

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boys, one of them the son of XIKAWMO, were sleeping in an outhouse serving as a kitchen. One night a leopard entered this place, and passing over one of the boys, deliberately attacked and killed the son of XIKAWMO, only wounding the boy nearest the door in his flight.

XIKAWMO went to MALUANGO, and after relating the whole affair to him said, "How is this? I want to know who had this leopard?" Then they set the NGANGAS to work, and it was divined that it was a man of the village of NTANDA BILALA who owned this particular leopard. Then XIKAWMO said, "Very well; now I want to know who ate the flesh of this man of BILALA," for if one of his boy's family had not eaten the flesh [1] of the BILALA man, XIKAWMO reasoned that it was impossible that the BILALA man should have sent the leopard to "chop" his son. And here this palaver rests for the time being.

2. The wife of XIKÃIA was in her house sleeping with another woman when a leopard burst open the door, passed over the other woman, and carrying XIKÃIA'S wife away, ate her up, leaving only her head. XIKÃIA called in the ZINGANGA, and they divined that MAXIENZI was the owner of that leopard. So XIKÃIA went to MAXIENZI'S town and destroyed his house and plantations, and then went to MALUANGO to complain about MAXIENZI. MALUANGO arrested MAXIENZI, and advised him to take *nkasa* at once. MAXIENZI said, "Let us first hold a palaver."

In the palaver it was proved that MAXIENZI had asked the acknowledged owner of the leopard to lend it to him. MAXIENZI protested, and declared that in this case he was innocent. MALUANGO then said that no one would believe him under the circumstances, and that the decision was in the hands of God, not his. Let him take *nkasa*. MAXIENZI went to MAMBUKU'S town, and demanded to be given the *nkasa*. It was given to him and he vomited, thus proving that he was innocent.

XIKÃIA and his people, however, said that MAXIENZI used his knowledge as a MUNTU A NDONGO to avoid the proper

[1] Eaten the flesh, *i.e.*, done him an injury, perhaps by sending a leopard to kill some one of his family.

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and just effects of the *nkasa*. XIKÃIA and his other wife and family then left their town and went to live in the Mayombe, or bush-country.

3. A poor old man and his little grandchildren went into the woods to cut the fronds of the bamboo palm (*ntombe*), from the leaves of which he meant to make thatch to cover his house. Having finished their work, they picked up their bundles and were about to start homewards, when a leopard sprang out of the bush upon the old man. The children cried out, not being able to run away. The leopard left the old man, and the party then took up their burdens and ran away in the direction of their village. At last the old man threw his bundle of leaves into the grass, and said he could go no further; he would rest and then come home. Shortly after he had stopped the leopard set upon him again. The little ones saw it, shouted to it to go away, and then ran home as fast as they could. The people of the village set out to look for the old man, but only found his head. How this palaver was settled I do not know.

These four cases in this district, then, have come to my knowledge within six months, and I give you the facts as related to me, and therefore with their native colouring and as they are looked upon by disinterested native third parties.

NGO AS THE OLD WOMAN IN A HAMMOCK.

The story of how Xidiela exposed the witches.

(Xidiela means in XIVILI a man who humbugs people.)

Xidiela was not well treated at home, and was finally told by his people that he was not worth anything, and had better go away and earn his living as best he could; they were tired of supporting him. This rather sobered Xidiela, and as he was already a bearded man, he knew he would have some difficulty in getting his living in a decent way, and he dreaded the thought of having to turn his hands to any hard work. He approached a rich man and offered him his services as "boy" or cook.

"You are too old," said the rich man.

"Never mind that, try me. I will do my best for you."

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And so he was engaged to clean plates, cook food, and cut wood. He continued to clean plates, and cook food, and cut wood for a long, long time. During all this time sundry Zi Nganga kept on telling him that he was serving a MUNTU A NDONGO, and Xidiela at last felt that there must be some truth in what he was told.

"Every Nganga that comes here says the same thing. What am I to do? How can I get the better of him?"

He once more cooks his master's chop, and then goes to him and says:

"Senhor!"

"What?"

"I am a witch."

"No!" says his master.

"Yes, I am."

"Why, how do you know?" asks the master.

"Yes, I am a witch, but am ashamed, and take off my clothes only behind the shimbec."

"Never mind," says the master, "I am one too, and perhaps after all you are one, for it is to-day that we are going to kill the prince of the country, and it is to-day that you tell me you are a witch. We will go together; but go to sleep and wait until the evening."

Xidiela sleeps, wakes early in the evening, and goes to his master and wakes him.

"You are no witch," says Xidiela, "or you would not sleep like this."

"Nay," says his master, "it is not time yet; you may sleep a little longer."

Xidiela goes to sleep again. Then they wake up, and start for the meeting-place of the witches. Xidiela goes ahead to show that he is not afraid. They come to a place where a great number of cloths and bracelets and leg-rings lie strewn about.

The master tells Xidiela to take off his clothes.

"No," says Xidiela; "when I do that people in town will dream that I am a witch, but when they see that I am dressed they will say, 'No, he cannot be a witch, because he dressed.'"

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"Very well, then," says his master, as he takes off his own clothes; "go as you are, but take care of the others."

Then they walk and walk and walk, until they arrive at a place where all the ZINDOXI were in the grass.

"Mamboma Xinkanda"[1] says the old woman with sores, Nfumu Ngo (in her hammock), when she sees the boy. "Mamboma! Xidiela kalokaka mino mabola maka ku sungomina." (Mamboma! he is not a witch; he comes only to look on. As sure as I'm a nganga I divine it.)

And Mamboma replies, "Zibika munu aku anjea natanga mu xipoia." (Shut your mouth. It is because you are in a hammock that you say so.)

The old woman replies; "Maxi ku natua batu ku anganga." (It is not because I have a hammock, but because I am a nganga that I say this.)

Mamboma then says: "How could he enter here if he were not a witch? Give him a matchet,[2] that he may dance."

They give him a matchet. Xidiela takes the matchet, and dances away and dances back again, And the young women are very pleased, and cry out, "Tuala ntulu, return here."

And Xidiela goes to them and returns twice; but the third time he runs away, taking the machet with him. And the old woman with the sores cried out from her hammock to Mamboma, "You now see that I was right."

They all waited, and then exclaimed, "She is right."

They then set upon the master and thrashed him. (They did not kill the prince.) They then knocked their fetish,

[1] I heard a little story of the Xinkanda (lemur). This little animal is looked upon to-day as the "Mamboma" of the princely 'Ngo, and was elected a prince of Luango in the following manner:

Ngondo (a long-tailed monkey) was very proud of the power his tail gave him in his hurried movements here and there, and upon this power he laid claim to the chief office in Luango, *i.e.*, that of Mamboma. Now, the Xinkanda objected to this claim on the part of the Ngondo. The Xinkanda is a close-fisted little animal, and the Bavili say sticks hard to anything he clings to. They say it takes hours to get anything out of its hands, once they are closed on any object. The Xinkanda is said to have made some bitter remarks about the ngondo and his tail, and challenged him to call a meeting of all the animals to get at the general opinion of their world upon their merits. At this meeting the slow-moving but sure Xinkanda was unanimously elected Mamboma.

[2] A kind of cutlass.

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crying out to Xidiela's master, "You brought the boy here. If you come back here you will die."

And Xidiela gathered up all the clothes and bracelets and leg-rings, and took them to his home. He made a fire outside his shimbec and waited for his master, but he did not sleep. The Zi-Ndoxi searched for their clothes, and thrashed the master again when they could not be found, and then they departed to their towns, dispersing in different directions.

And next day Xidiela remarked to all about him, "How is it that so many are wearing clean clothes to-day?"

And the master called Xidiela aside, and whispered to him that they had thrashed him.

"Who dared to thrash you?" shouted Xidiela.

"Don't shout," cried the master.

"Why?" shouted Xidiela.

"If you are a ndoxi, why do you act like this and get me thrashed?"

"I went simply to humbug you," replied Xidiela.

And each ndoxi brought fifty longs (125 yards) of cloth, or sheep, or presents, to get their clothes from Xidiela and to bribe him to say nothing about the affair. Thus he became very rich, and went back to his town and built a nice shimbec, and looked down upon his poorer relations.

Some time afterwards he went back in a hammock to see his master. His master called him a ndoxi, and dared him to take nkasa.

"Let us take it together," said Xidiela. And they both went far away, where they were not known, and took the bark; and the master died, and Xidiela escaped.

The above, of course, is merely a story; the following, however, occurred not so long ago, which proves how near fiction is to fact in the Bavili's mind.

Buite had been out fishing, and on his way home met the drunkard Mavungu, who asked him for some fish. Buite refused to give it, and Mavungu threatened to "do for him." Buite fell sick and died. Mavungu took nkasa and died. And it then turned out that the drunkard Mavungu had gone to his town in a rage and told his brother, who was also no friend of Buite's, that the latter had refused to give him fish. So they sought out one or two other Zi-Ndoxi, and they had

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determined to kill Buite. Buite, falling sick, called in an Nganga, who divined that he was bewitched, and that nothing could save him. When Buite died, Mavungu, who had thus been heard to threaten Buite, was accused of having been the cause of his death, and had to take nkasa, and died.

The Bavili say that supposing that Mavungu's brother had refused to join him in wishing the death of Buite, but on the contrary had said, "No! Buite is not bad fellow, and I do not wish him to die," Buite might have fallen sick, but would have soon got better.

ZAMBICI in some of the stories[1] is spoken of as the mother of all animals, as if she were the immediate mother rather than the Creator. This confusion is natural to degenerate people, who are apt to mistake the intermediate causes for the first cause. In the story that describes an old lady arriving at the town of SONANSENZI and asking for hospitality we have an example of this. NZENZI is the cricket, and the story therefore is an animal one; and the old lady so full of sores who chastised the people of the town for not giving her hospitality should perhaps be NGO, the leopard, and not NZAMBI CI.

XINA.

Mesu Mazenzi Mavili Matuninini say the BAVILI for a crooked palaver in which one is able to see the truth. You can cook the grasshopper or cricket, but its eyes remain, or, in other words, "The truth will out."

The cricket is XINA to SONIO.[2]

ZOMBO-BAWCI or BOCI,[3] the eel, is the XINA, or sacred animal, of Kakongo.

An old lady is said to have been on a journey in Kakongo behind a place called FUTILA. She carried a child on her back, and asked some women who were planting in the fields for water. The women said that they only had enough for themselves, and that water had to be brought from a long distance. The lady eventually got a drink of palm wine

[1] See *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 127.

[2] SONANZENZI, *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 122.

[3] These three words, Meci, Bawci, and Awci, all mean one—the seeing one, the instinctive one and the hearing one; Meci is equivalent to Mesu ma zenzi.

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from a young man who was tapping a palm tree. She rewarded the young man, and punished the women for their want of motherly instinct by turning the field they had been in into a lake (BAWCI), the fish of which is XINA to the women of NTUMPU to this day.

The third one[1] (AWCI or OCI) is MPAKASA AWCI, the wild ox or buffalo, the XINA of LUANGO.

When Maluango[2] first came from Kongo he brought this XINI which is NKICI'CI with him. He is said to have asked some men for water and they refused to give it to him; hence he made the flesh of the MPAKASA XINA to their family BAKULU. These four[3] great ones then are the XINA of the whole tribe and the three sub-tribes composing it, and the three are not only the sacred animals of the sub-tribes, but also the forbidden food of certain families in those sub-tribes. As we are treating only of LUANGO, we must restrict ourselves to its sacred animals.

MPAKASA AWCI is called the XINA XI BIKA MUANA BUKULU, or the four left by the offspring of the spirit of the ancient.

2nd Class. Each province under the rule of its FUMU has two XINA, as in the case of the province of XIBANGA, the SUSU or fowl, and the SEXI (duiker); these are called BINA FUMUCI.

3rd Class. Then each district under its KONGO ZOVO has its XINA, as in the chief district of the above province, the NZIKU, the chimpanzee. This kind is called XINA XICI, and is the sacred animal of the sacred grove of the district. Thus MPUKU, the rat, is XINA XICI of a family as well as the animal connected with the grove MPUKU NYAMBI as an omen.

[1] See note 3, p. 152.

[2] The route of Maluango and Makongo from San Salvador to Luango and Kakongo is marked out by the ground where they rested becoming "xinkici a'nci," *i.e.*, sacred ground. There are no altars made with tools, but as you wander through the woods you will at certain places come across a mound of earth and leaves. And as your servants pass this mound they will add their tribute to it. They say these mounds are marks which divide the frontiers (*ndilu*) of two provinces, and that in passing them they pick up earth and leaves and heap them up, so that they may not be accused, as they say, of bringing anything evil into the next prince's country. These mounds are called Lombi.

[3] Including ngo.

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4th Class. Each person living under his KONGO ZOVO (head of family) with any pretensions to birth should have four BINA.

The XINA of each of his ancestors *i.e.*, two XINA XIXINKAKA:

XI'XITATA, the XINA of his father's family.

XI'XIFUMBA, the XINA of his mother's family.

In connection with this class it is astonishing how few can trace their pedigrees back to their grandfathers. Take, for instance, the following examples:

TATI of BENGUELA says his father's XINA was NGULUBU, the pig; his mother's NGWALI, the partridge; and that he is of the family of NZIKU.

BAYONA of NTUMPU		
Father	KABI	Antelope.
Mother	NZIKU	Chimpanzee.
Ancestors	NGULUBU	Pig.
	NYUNDU XIBANGA	Otter.
ENGO of FUTILA (Kakongo)		
Father	KABI	Antelope.
Mother	NGWALI	Partridge
Grandparents or ancestors	NGULUBU	Pig.
MAKAMBA of XILENDI NKOMBI		
Father	NKOMBO	Goat.
Mother	A slave brought from the interior.	
SUNGU of XIENJI		
Father	NKOMBO	Goat.
Mother	MPAKASA	Buffalo.
LUIZ		
Father	NGWALI	Partridge.
Mother	He does not know.	

In the case of BAYONA NGULUBU and NYUNDU XIBANGA show the districts of his grandparents, while his father's XINA is KABI and his mother's NZIKU. Through his ancestors he is related to TATI, whose father had the pig as his XINA. Then TATI is of the family of NZIKU, the XINA of Bayona's mother, therefore their families may not intermarry.

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5th Class. Certain offices or situations carry certain XINA with them.

The office of FUMU ZINKONDI or ZINKATA; the pig, NGULUBU.

The office of BADUNGU; the NZIKU.

The office of PUNZI; food cooked by an unmarried woman.

This class is called XINA XISALU.

6th Class. Each XIBILA has its XINA.

BUNZI hates unmarried women; XIKUMBI, the maiden, is therefore its XINA.

XIKANGA NXILUKA hate a noise; the goat NKOMBO is their XINA.

This class is called XINA XINKICICI.

7th Class. When natives are sick and are undergoing treatment certain foods are XINA, and as often as not the patient is ordered henceforth not to allow a companion to eat certain flesh together with him.

This is called XINA XI BILONGO.

8th Class. Certain household fetishes, bracelets, etc., carry with their ownership certain restrictions as to food. The wearer of the NGOFO bracelet may not eat the fish MPULI with another person; he may not kill and eat an animal on the same day.

This is XINA BAKICI.

9th Class. Now, parts of some animals are found in the sacred grove. This summed-up class is called XINA XI BIFUMBA.

These BINA of the BAVILI are as follows:

The skin of the leopard finds its way into the XIBILA only as part of the dress of the individual. Neither the eel nor the cricket are found there, but the MPAKASA is the greatest of all the symbols entering the XIBILA of the BAVILI and so we will commence with it.

The wild ox in the stories of the Bavili is generally found acting as the servant or ambassador of either the Leopard or some princely animal. As often as not it is sacrificed while in the discharge of some duty. Thus when NZAMBI (NGO?) sent him for the wagtail's drum he was killed by the followers of that bird.

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The tail of the ox called MAWSO is the sign of office of all the Kongozovo among the Bavili, thus the idea of obedience to the voice of one in authority is implied.

The wild ox is always on the alert for the slightest noise, it is peculiarly sensitive to sound. The horns and head of this animal are found in the XIBILA.

BAFU = the saw fish, the snout of which the BADUNGU carry as their sign of office. This snout is found in the XIBILA.

NKAKA = a kind of crocodile (opposed to the NGANDU or crocodile in the Kongo). This reptile is eaten by the BAKUNI or woodmen of the MAYOMBE district to the east of Malango's composite kingdom. It digs out its home underground in the banks of rivers. The hole is of the shape of the letter $\overset{1}{\underset{}{}}\!\!\overset{2\ 3}{\underset{\smile}{}}$ and great danger is encountered by the BAKUNI in hunting and killing it. The hunter by lighting a fire at the entrance (1) drives the reptile into the bend (2, 3). He then carries stones into the hole and blocks up entrance No. 2, and lights another fire at the entrance No. 3, and so suffocates his prey. Should the hunter venture beyond No. 2 without having blocked it up the NKAKA is apt to slip through it and block up the main entrance with his body so that the hunter becomes captive and certain prey. One of the scales (MAKU) of this reptile is to be found in the XIBILA.

BECI is what the Portuguese call silver fish. It causes great havoc with the fishing nets as it is a great struggler. The saying KUBELA NKANU, to lose right in a palaver, is connected with it. Its scales are found in the XIBILA.

SUSU = the fowl. White fowls are used as offerings by those going to the XIBILA to ask a favour. A fowl is generally found tied by a string to a peg in the ground in front of a sick man the Nganga is trying to cure. It is a sign of good faith and is supposed to die if the Nganga in the presence of his fetish does not act fairly. It is killed and its blood used in certain medicines (XIMENGA). They call it MAFUKA the messenger among the animals, and there is a saying MUANA SUSU KULEMBA KUCIATA KULALA NZALA.

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A chicken goes to sleep hungry if its mother does not scratch for food for it. Its feathers are found in the XIBILA.

MAKUNKULA are the cockle shells that together with the oyster shells the people of Mamboma cast at the people of BUALI who have carried the coffin of NTAWTELA as far as the NUMBU tree. The saying MAKUKU MATATU XICI KU BUNDUBUKU PE gives us to understand that it takes three ant hills for a pot properly to be balanced for cooking purposes. Many women and children are drowned each year by forgetting that when the tide begins to rise it is time to cease digging for cockles. A mound of these shells is found in the XIBILA.

NGWALI or NGUMBI or XILAWLOLO = the partridge, also a MAFUKA. The story goes that a Mr. Partridge fell in love with a Mrs. Fowl and went home with her, but passed a very wretched night in the coop owing to his fear of Mr. Fowl, and to the fact that the owner of the village gave loud orders at midnight to his people to kill a fowl in the morning before letting the fowls out, as he expected some friends the next day. The partridge got away. It is the bird that is killed by sons for their mothers when their husbands have neglected them for strange women. The head and feet of this bird are found in the XIBILA.

MAILI = oysters. The saying YAU MISAMU YI MATI MAILI gives us to understand that the palaver to be talked out is no small matter, and that it is as hard as an oyster to open. A mound of these shells is found in the XIBILA.

MBOMA the boa constrictor. Its skin is found in the XIBILA.

TELE the whale. Its vertebra (KALA KALA MBUSA) is in the XIBILA and is said to point out that people come there from all parts.

NKAWMBO the goat. When a member of a village has committed some crime worthy of death, a town's meeting is called and if there be one dissenting voice against his being put to death, his family supply a goat in his place. This is killed and every member of the community must eat a little of it. This custom is called MUNTU FUNDU NKAWMBO FUNDU. Thus both the goats and the fowl are XIMENGA (of blood).

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The goat's skin is used in the XIBILA to sit upon instead of the usual grass mat. The animal itself is looked upon as noisy and lascivious.

SUNGU is a large antelope and the saying is (SUNGU MBAKALA MUNTU KE KULILA MU BINANGA) that the Sunga always feeds on the tops of hills and is therefore always ready to catch sight of his enemy. To look out becomes a habit of mind (SUNGA) with it. Its head and horns are in the XIBILA.

NZAU, the elephant. The chief of all the world the great giver of food (KULAWMBO NDUNDU KU MITEKA) for when it is killed people come with matets (baskets) and seem to be for ever coming and carrying its flesh away. It stands for the ideas of animal love and knowledge, and the story goes that it was led from Kakongo by a single string of piassava (NKAWXI BA KAWKILA NZAU MU LUVUSU). NZAU is pet name given to little babies. The hairs of its tail are found in the XIBILA round the necks of people.

MPILI. The spitting viper. This snake is said to object very much to noise or to being disturbed in any way. The people of the town of MPILI hold this viper in great respect, and will not allow the grass around the town to be burnt for fear of disturbing it. (LI very often takes the place of CI primeval) and PI means hush! silence! so that the word can be translated primeval silence. Its skin is found in the XIBILA.

NKALA (VUMA XIVANJI MANIA in full) the crab. After having held their breath with fright, the danger over, the BAVILI give vent to a sigh or groan of relief, this action they call KU VUMINA and the word has thus come to mean to fear or respect. They liken this sigh to a rest, hence the word VUVUMA or VUVAMA, to be safe, or at rest. But the impression of fear remains, hence the saying, "KUFWA NKALA XIFUNDU MIZI," the claws of the crab nip even after it is dead. The crab, the sea, and sun, are opposed to NGO, the earth, and moon, that is to say "spirit," opposed to "matter." (KALA = to be eternally.) The claws of the crab are found in the basket of Bilongo in the XIBILA.

NQUIMBI KE KU VUKA. The shark that devours. Thus

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we learn that the word VUKA[1] has the sense of devouring as well as that of copulating. The word QUIMBUKA is to fear (relating to that cringing fear caused by a guilty conscience). The KUBU or fin of the shark is found in the basket of Bilongo in the XIBILA. KUBU also means the curtain or partition that screens the bedstead (or the NKAKA NDILU).

NKUFU, the turtle. NUNI NKUFU U I NATINA MUANZA the husband turtle who carries the roof (of his shimbec) on his back. This animal has a very bad character; he is noted for his treachery and deceit, taking a mean advantage over those he has promised to reward. For instance, "he" is said to have made a trading compact with a man. They formed two traps to catch game. He chose the best one, the man agreed as they were partners, and he said it did not matter where the "game" was trapped as it would be shared between them. An antelope is caught by the turtle's trap. Instead of calling his partner to share the spoil he engages the ox to carry it to his town, promising him a share for his trouble. When the antelope has been cut up he sent the ox away to clean the plates, etc. Then he hid away the food in his strong shimbec. When the ox came back the meat could not be found, and he was much annoyed. He resolved to destroy the turtle's trap. Unfortunately he was caught in it. The turtle then called the leopard to help him, and played the same dirty trick upon him. The leopard swore vengeance, and went to the trap and so arranged it that it appeared that he also was caught in it. The turtle came along and gloated over his friend's apparent misery, but when he put his head out of his shell to have a look and smell at his victim, the leopard snapped it off. The leopard then went to the turtle's town and ate up all the food there, and then told the partner what he had done. The man recognised that the turtle deserved his fate. NKUFI means short in stature. The shell of the turtle is found in the XIBILA.

NVUBU (or NGUVU, the hippopotamus) UNILLA NGOLO, the hippopotamus that eats very much. There are many amphibious animals, but only four of which these words are used: NXELO KU BAKOKO NSAKUSO KU VIA MBAZU. As

[1] See p. 171.

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a protection for the mouth of his bellows the blacksmith places an earthenware nozzle over it, so must men protect themselves against the fires which burn (ZINDOXI). These four are KIMBOLO, Nile crocodile; NGANDU, Indian crocodile (another way of calling a man a wizard); BAMBI, Monitor lizard; and the NGUVU or NVUBU. The word VUBA is to take altogether too much for one's self. The head of the hippopotamus is found in the XIBILA.

NKABI (the saddle-back antelope) KU KABIKA NCITU MUNTU LI MONIO KU KABIKA BUALA BUANDI KUTUNGA (as) the antelope leaves the woods to die, (so) when the man leaves his town stockade he also dies. The word KABA is to divide. The horns of this antelope form the symbol of the parting of the ways. "We are all from one stock, and agree together along one road until we come to the parting of the way," says the sign.

MBAMBI NGOMBI (monitor lizard). They say that this lizard came along a road carrying a long basket or matet of salt. He noticed the little cricket NKAWLA resting in the leaf of the LICISA (string plant).

"Get off that *tree*" (*sic*), says the Mbambi, "and allow me to rest this load of mine against its trunk." "Why," answered the NKAWLA, "use such a false picture to deceive me; you know that this is not a tree, and you know that you simply wish to kill and eat me. I am here; kill me!" And the MBAMBI snapped at the NKAWLA and devoured it.

The skin of this lizard is found in the basket of bilongo in the XIBILA.

NSEXI (SECI or SACI), a kind of antelope that is also known by the name KINKUBA, an axe, and KIMPITI, half a matchet. What a beautiful yet deceitful and undutiful animal this is is well shown in the stories Nos. 4 and 19 in *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort.*

NSEXI KU SEKA, say the Bavili, meaning the dust of corruption. Its head and horns are found in the XIBILA.

NVULI (the water buck). NVULI OBO, listen to what another says. Like the NKUTI antelope, the NVULI listens to the false cry of the hunter, and so often falls an easy prey to his destroyer. Its head and horns are found in the XIBILA.

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NGULUBU NGULU MBAKALA KE KU MANA MAYAKA. It is the pig that steals the manioc (in the market). After certain palavers, certain household fetishes like MPUMBU are washed in the blood of the pig. Its dried blood also enters into many bilongo. It is the head of the pig that enters the XIBILA.

XINGOLO XINYUNDU (the otter) XIBANGO NGOLA MACI. The strength (resistance) of the anvil (NYUNDU) demolishes the firmness of the waters, or the otter eats the fish called NGOLA.

The saying above is a figurative way of implying that the wife should satisfy the desire of her husband. The skin of the otter is used in the place of the proverbial figleaf as a dress. All princes in their visit to the XIBILA wear this skin.

There are five kinds of fish forming the class MBIZI XIBALA, the spikes of which enter into bilongo; they are XIENDO, MPUDI, NKOKO, NGOLA, and XIBUELA. MPUDI and NGOLA are the cat fish, the others are rays.

NZIKU (=the chimpanzee). NZIKU NKONDO, as the saying goes, "Be careful how you choose your friends."

NZIKA KE KU ZIKA MINA MUNTU, "an apparently friendly man may get one into a big palaver."

NZIKU is the XINA of mankind generally. It is not only that there is a certain resemblance between man and the chimpanzee in their outward form, but they have many habits in common. It carries its young on its back, and walks about the woods upon its hind legs with the help of a stick. It fights with a stick. But above all, it is very gallant, and treats its pregnant wife with the greatest respect, running away from her when she is annoyed instead of beating her. Unlike other animals, he is never caught in the act of copulation. But in spite of all this the Bavili say that man must not be led to believe that the chimpanzee is an animal that he can make a real friend of. Its skin is found in the XIBILA.

When a person wishes to refuse a request he has simply to mention his XINA. Thus, supposing his XINA to be NGWALI, the person says NGWALI, the words MINU I CIABAKOKO,

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"I have it not," being understood. The word KAZILA (no road) is often used for the word XINA.

There is a class of people called MAVUMBU[1] (VUMBA to leak) living in different districts of Kakongo and just on the southern borders of LUANGO, who are not allowed to eat out of the same dish as the Bavili or people of Kakongo. Should one ask for food he must tell the people that he is MAVUMBU, but as it is a great disgrace to admit this, such a one seldom does ask another for it. I know one or two very rich and important men in the country, whose names I will not mention, who are MAVUMBU. But where these people come from I cannot find out, neither can I make out why they should be so cursed. MAVU = dirt, and so MAVUMBU may mean the essence of dirt.

We may now, I think, conclude that this remarkable word XINA means law, a thing forbidden, an abomination, and a totem.

It is said that the King Maluango has no XINA, but I think that this merely means that as NKICI CI he is in the place of God, and therefore above the law, for as FUMU his XINA is pig, and he must have his family BINA also.

Sacred Animals.

	MPAKASA.	
MBAMBINGOMBI.	BAFU.	MPILI.
	NKAKA.	
NSEXI.	BECI.	NKALA.
	SUSU.	
NVULI.	MAKUNKULA.	NQUIMBI.
	NGUALI.	
NGULUBU.	MAILI.	NKUFU.
	MBOMA.	
XINGOLOXINYUNDU.	TELE.	NVUBU.
	NKOMBO.	
NZIKUNKONDO.	SUNGU.	NKABI.
	NZAU.	
	NDUMA.	

[1] Father T. Derouet informs me that the tribe the Bavili call BAKUTU call themselves BAVUMBU or BAHUMBU, and that their greatest fetish (*sic*) is NGO.

My linguister Bayonna who has lived among these people adds that when the father or prince of the tribe dies his head (Father Derouet says his hands also) is

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This formula differs from those which have preceded it. In connecting the animals with the categories we must take account of the fivefold division of the laws; two families in the formula—the third and fourth—are classed together by them for this purpose; and the six families of the formula are harmonised with the five divisions of the law, which may in fact be regarded as prohibitions of the opposite of the categories; thus theft is associated with the idea of running away, and this is the opposite of love and union, two of the ideas associated with fire.

THE PROHIBITIONS.

My friends have found no difficulty in placing these families in their order under the five great divisions into which their laws are divided. I give them exactly as they were given to me:—

1. XINA XIVANGA NZAMBI—against God and rulers.
2. XINA VA XIFUMBA —against parents.
3. XINA NKAKA —against neighbours.
4. XINA NSOKI or NSEXI —against covetousness.
5. XINA MVILA —against illegal marriages.

Xina Xivanga Nzambi.

As the KONGOZOVO armed with a tail of the ox (Mawso) punish offenders so does God—

The Badungu armed with the snout of the saw fish (bafu) are ready to avenge the abused authority of their king by punishing those who like the Mbambingombi would lead the people astray by false pictures (KUSALA FUMU, the magic mirror by which Nganga Nyambi is alone allowed to see the true picture of the prince to be elected in the place of the Ntawtela).

allowed to remain in the water until all the flesh comes away from it, when it is kept in a hut apart, and carried with the family should it remove to some other part. His penis is also cut off and smoked and then worn as a charm by his first wife's eldest son.

Can these people be the family or tribe from which the MAVUMBU have descended? And can NGO then be the sacred animal of not only the Kongo people but of all the Bantu?

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The Nkaka or executioner is ever ready to punish those who by their foolish talk disturb that silence (MPILI) ordered by the king concerning his name and that of God—Xibika Bakolu.

The above three commandments refer to God but also to Xifumba or the class that cannot be separated from God, in that God is man's father.

Xina Va Xifumba.

The Susu reminds the prince that on the fourth day (Sona) he must rest (Ku Kala vaci) and the people of the country (Beci) know that if they do not uphold the authority of parents and refuse to act as the Nsexi they will become corrupt.

Xina Nkaka.

The cockle shells (Makunkula) remind the people of the death of their king and how through loss of balance of mind they are led through vice to become murderers and the prey of that fear associated with the shark Nquimbi.

Desire is like the messenger (Nguali, partridge) that leads them to ask married women questions which lead to adultery and death if like the water buck (Nvuli), the woman listens to them.

Hard as it may be to open your mind (Maili) and tell the truth, it is better to say nothing than to bear false witness in a palaver like the turtle (Nkufu).

Don't let the snake Mboma usurp the place of your conscience and tempt you to act like the thieving pig (Ngulubu) that steals the mandioca.

Xina Nsoki.

Remember the size of the whale (tele) and the small size of the fish he swallows and don't be a glutton like the Nvubu and don't become a slave (Nkombo) through playing the goat but let your wife be all in all to you (Xingolo Xinyundu).

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Xina Mvila.

Keep a sharp look out (as the Sungu) lest you fall into sin, and keep within the stockade of the law (Nkabi) of your own free will. Be loving and knowing as the elephant (Nzau) and as full of abundance, but take care how you choose your wife or companion and don't marry your Xina (Nziku Nkondo).

Be noble and serve and respect your God and those who are put in authority over you, and do not allow yourselves to come under the domination of fear (Nduma for Mboma).

This is the sum total of your duty towards God and man.

This XINA XIVANGA ZAMBI is connected with the category of water, through immorality and abuse of speech.

XINA VA XI fumba is connected with the category of earth through corruption (SEXI dust), which is looked upon as the opposite of solidity.

XINA NKAKA is connected with marriage and desire, through fear caused by their opposites, adultery and abuse of desire; and with motion and procreation, through the fear of punishment which causes the evil doer to run away.

XINA SOXI is connected with the category of plenty through the abuse of appetite and lust.

XINA Mvila is connected with life and birth, through the product of legal marriage.

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CHAPTER XVI

NZAMBI (GOD), THE WORD NKICI, AND THE BAKICI BACI

HAVE the Bavili a conception of a divinity or God? You ask me, and I, immediately, am overcome by an almost irresistible wish to evade your question, not because I shall be obliged to answer you in a roundabout and hesitating way but because on the contrary the conception of God formed by the Bavili is so purely spiritual, or shall I say abstract, that you are sure to think that I am mad to suppose that so evidently degenerate a race can have formed so logical an idea of a God we all recognise and try in various ways to comprehend. The name for God is NZAMBI[1] and its literal meaning is the personal essence (IMBI) of the fours (ZIA or ZA = fours). What then are the fours? They are the groups each of four powers called BAKICI BACI, which we have just discussed. The prefix BA the plural of N proving that these powers are personalities or attributes of a person, that is they are not ZINKICI like the mere wooden figures. Each group may be said to be composed of (1) a cause, (2 and 3) male and female parts, and (4) an effect. The group NZAMBI itself may be said to have four parts—(1) NZAMBI the

[1] Most people are under the impression that the native does not mention or fear NZAMBI very much, because in his broken English he tells us that "He is good too much." I don't think we are quite right in taking him at his word. As a matter of fact, I think that it is rather owing to his respect and fear of him, that he says as little about him as possible. In trouble he uses the word NZAMBI as an exclamation.

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abstract idea, the cause, (2 and 3) NZAMBI MPUNGU God Almighty, the father God who dwells in the heavens and is the guardian of the fire, NZAMBICI God the essence, the God on earth, the great princess, the mother of all the animals, the one who promises her daughter to the animal who shall bring her the fire from heaven, (4) KICI, the mysterious inherent quality in things that causes the BAVILI to fear and respect. This word was translated as "holy" by the first missionaries that came to the Congo, but many people now speak of it as "fetish," and in *Seven Years Among the Fjort*, I write of NKICI as evil. I had then only heard the word used in connection with fetish as NKICI and had hardly heard of the BAKICI BACI.

It is not unnatural that one of the personalities of ZAMBI being KICI his powers (or perhaps attributes), are called BAKICI BACI, the speaking powers on earth and that their product or the final effect is NKICI'CI (KICI on earth) one of the titles of the King MALUANGO.

The word adopted by the old Romish missionaries for Holy was Nkici. The late Mr. Bentley in his interesting book entitled *Pioneering on the Congo* considers this a "most unfortunate selection" (page 236) and certainly it would have been were the current translation of the word to be taken as correct *i.e.*, "fetish." Mr. Bentley considers that the old missionaries made a still more egregious blunder in the word which they adopted for Church "nzoankici" which he says is the common word used for "grave" (Bulu XIBAYI Luango) and is a euphemism meaning "fetish house."

Now I wonder whether these old missionaries were the asses Mr. Bentley seems to look upon them as, or whether they found the true religion of the natives less overgrown by "fetishism" than it is to-day. We must remember that some 400 years have passed between the arrival of the first missionaries and that of Mr. Bentley. What the words meant then and what they appear to mean to-day may well be two widely different things. Missionaries as a rule do not look for any high virtues in any religion but their own, and refusing to study the religion of the native set about to destroy it. The greater the play of civilisation and Chris-

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tianity so-called the greater the havoc we may expect in the religion of the indigenes. In this case the work of the missionaries under the Portuguese Government took the greatest hold of the district south of the Congo, *i.e.*, that about which Mr. Bentley writes ; it is not then surprising to me that in his description of what he calls the religion of the natives, all trace of the higher part of it is found wanting. Neither is it to be wondered at that north of the Congo where the work of the missionaries took little or no hold, traces of Nkici-ism are still to be found. I say so-called religion because I do not call fetishism a religion any more than I would call witchcraft or any other form of priest ridden degeneracy anything more than a "superstition." Mr. Bentley's description of "fetishism" is a very correct one and must be most interesting to those who take an interest in the present degenerate form of the superstition of the native of the Congo. But as Mr. Bentley asks, "What are we to infer from the present state of things? Is the idea of God being slowly evolved out of fetishism? Is it not rather that the people have well-nigh lost the knowledge of God which once their forefathers possessed?" Exactly,—I should infer from the long study of the people that I have made that such is certainly the case, and that this superstition called fetishism is an overgrowth imposed upon the purer knowledge they once certainly possessed. Can we be surprised, therefore, if the word Nkici was as near to the meaning of the word "Holy" as the priests of old could get.

It was stated in the preliminary remarks on Bavili philosophy (Chapter X) that fetishism is not the sum total of Bavili religion, that Bakici baci, or sacred symbols, exist, which are connected with Nzambi on the one side, and with the king on the other through his six titles. These sacred symbols are (1) groves, (2) lands and rivers, (3) trees, (4) animals, (5) omens, and (6) the seasons. In Chapter X it was shown that the seasons, the order of which is obviously indisputable, are regarded as genetically related to each other and that the various groups are connected in the native mind with certain ideas, which we have termed the categories, viz., water, earth, fire, procreation, motion, fruitfulness, life.

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In the next chapter it was shown that the groves are grouped in sets of four, that the order of each set of four is fixed for the natives, and that the order of the groups *inter se* is likewise determined. That being so, it was possible to trace a connection between certain groups of groves, which we term families, and the categories, and to show that the natives regard the families as genetically related both internally and *inter se* in the same way as the seasons; it is however impossible, owing to lack of information, to work out this idea in detail, for though I have been successful in obtaining the names of nearly one hundred groves, I have failed to get from the natives any statement as to the order in which they should be placed.

In the case of the rivers, the order in which they were given me by the natives is that in which they appear on the map; the order of the provinces on the other hand is established by testimony only. In each case the order of the categories is preserved.

In the case of the trees the association with the categories seems to be less direct. The connection between the virtues of Maloango and the trees on the one hand, and between the categories and the virtues on the other, seems undeniable; but it is clear that the area of choice is wide, when we endeavour to associate the trees with the categories. It must, however, be remarked that the theory of Bavili philosophy here put forward may be perfectly correct in its main outlines, even though many details remain for future investigators. If the proof of the connection of the trees with the categories is slight, the fault is rather in my lack of knowledge than in any real absence of continuity in native ideas.

At the end of the chapter on omens I have shown how the native connects with the categories the senses, which are themselves connected by the natives with colours and the rainbow snakes. It is important to notice that the order of the families is given in this case by the order of the spectral colours; it is consequently as indisputable as the order of the seasons.

In the case of the animals the connection with the cate-

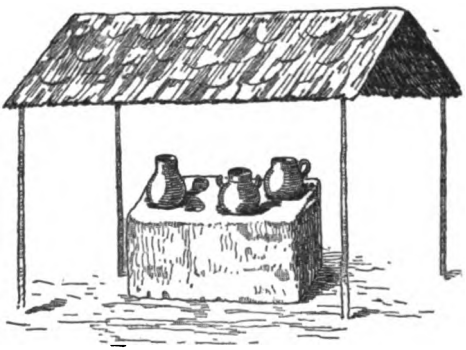
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gories is traced through the prohibitions or categories of the law, which are the opposites of the categories of the formula.

The relation of the king to the categories has already been traced on pp. 100, 135.

I have now set forth the information gathered from the Bavili. During the past few years I have been in a different part of Africa, and I was naturally curious to see if I could discover traces of the same ideas among the inhabitants of Benin city and its neighbourhood. In the following chapters I develop what I have learnt of Bini philosophy.

My first impression of the religious system of the Bini was that it was something different from that of the Bavili.



An altar to OYATA at OKPWEBO, made of clay surmounted with native pottery.

I missed the class of fetishes into which nails are driven; I found temples near to the sacred groves, and altars not only in private houses, but also along many of their roads. But when I found the great dual division of ideas illustrated by the names ESHU and ESHU-SHU on the one hand, and EBAW, EBAMI, and OYISA on the other, equivalent to what I have described as NDONGOISM and NKICI-ISM among the BAVILI; and when I found traces of the "jujus" or fetishes into which nails are driven in some of their temples, swear "jujus" and family "jujus" on the one hand, and groves sacred to river

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spirits, trees, and animals on the other, I was driven to the conclusion that the apparent difference was rather an interesting development, which after all was a natural one and corresponded to the material progress from the rush huts or shimbecs of the Bavili to the solid mud houses of the Bini.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE BINI

King and Constitution.—Native Ideas.—The Queen Mother and the King.—His Attendants.—Viceroys.—The War Chief.—Officers.—Titles of the OBA.

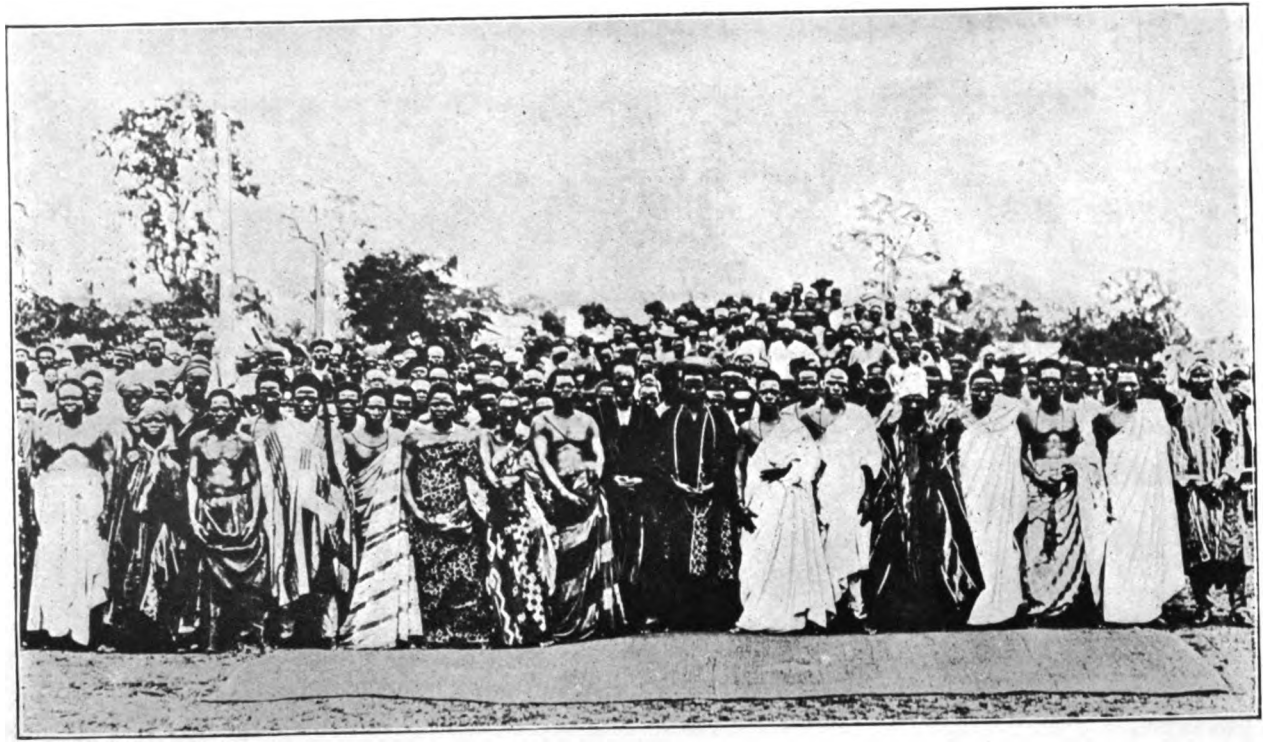
ALL have heard of the massacre of Consul Philips and his unlucky companions while on their way to Benin City, and also of the cleverly managed expedition under Admiral Rawson, sent by H.M. Government to punish the King of Benin for his treachery, so that these notes scarcely need any introductory remarks so far as the place is concerned. Those who take a deeper interest in all that has been written and said about Benin must read *Great Benin* by Ling Roth, or the *Antiquities of Benin City* by the late General Pitt Rivers, etc.

The few notes that I have been enabled to gather directly from the natives of these parts may perhaps serve to further illustrate some of the subjects touched upon by my predecessors in this field, and to show that what Mr. Ling Roth calls *jujuism* in reality corresponds to Nkici-ism and the higher religion of the Kongo rather than to Ndongoism.

As to the natives themselves it is quite inconceivable how they could have acted in the barbarous way they are said to have done a few years ago, for they seem to the writer to be a peculiarly happy and pleasant people to dwell among. The present UNWAGWE'S grandfather was killed by the OBA for refusing to join in the expedition against Consul Philips, and it was only under great compunction that old EZOMO or OJUMO was forced to join at the last moment, so that perhaps it was more as a duty than anything else that the people joined in this disastrous march against an unarmed and would-be friend.

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Principal Chiefs of Benin City.

See page 173.

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Politically H.B.M. Government has preserved as much as possible of the native form of government, and the country is virtually governed on native lines by the so-called Benin City chiefs (who for the most part were the OBA'S tax-gatherers).

But all Europeans must suffer from the want of knowledge of what "native lines really are," and if the natives are not governed more nearly on their own lines than at present it is generally because a few self-seeking natives, always to be found in the beginning of changes, are apt to wilfully misguide the white man where those lines oppose their own personal interests.

The public spirit of the chiefs in this district, however, is very remarkable, and little by little as the European's knowledge and accumulation of facts increase, great things are to be expected, especially if Benin City is to be as lucky in the future as it has been in the past in its Residents and District Commissioners.

H.B.M. Government has a great opportunity of studying the constitution of a really African native state in the Kingdom of Benin, and if its officers continue to be of the right sort and the susceptibilities of the chiefs are not ruffled by the thoughtless action of one of the rough overbearing "I'm your conqueror" class of men there is every chance of our having in Benin City a very perfect model of how an African state can be governed by a European government. On the other hand, if the susceptibilities of these now public-spirited chiefs are injured by our riding rough-shod over what they consider most sacred, *i.e.* their religion, their form of goverment, the integrity of their kingdom, bounded as it is by their sacred rivers, they will draw in their horns, as it were, and we shall never be able to help them again to govern their country on intelligent and non-barbaric lines. And if it is possible to obtain such a working model it will become an excellent school for those officers who may be destined to reduce chaos into something like order in countries like those of IJAWS and SOBOS, where at present no form of government (save the village form) appears to exist.

The words of that great lady, Mary Kingsley, so interested in the welfare of the Africans, keep on reminding us of our

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duty in this matter, where she says—"I cannot avoid thinking that before you cast yourself in a whole-hearted way into developing anything you should have a knowledge of the nature of the thing as it is on scientific lines."

As in the formation of most African governments, there is a link with the past in the Bini constitution.

The Queen mother, IOBA, has her residence just outside the walls of Benin city, at a place called SHELU, on the YIRA, or north road. As the dowager Queen she maintains a Court of her own composed of—

1. AMOMA, her so-called wife.
2. AMADA, her naked boys.
3. The chiefs fulfilling the offices of IWEBO (equity), IWASE (medicine men), IWEGWE (Commons), and IBIWE (Lords). We will explain these four offices when we consider them under the King.

IOBA had the right to sacrifice human beings.

It is said that, accompanied by four pairs[1] of chiefs, one of the six sons of AWYAW, called BINI by the Yoruba historians, came to Benin city by the YIRA road, through SHELU, and asked OGIFA[2] for a place where he might reside. OGIFA is said to have given this son of AWYAW that part of the city that he and his people had vacated owing to sickness. After a time this prince declared that the smell of the place disgusted him, that he could not speak the language of the EFA, and that he purposed leaving them. This he did by the UDO road, returning thereby to UHE or IFE, the sacred capital of the YORUBA. But before leaving he informed OGIFA that a certain daughter of OGIEGAW was in child to him if they wished to put anyone in his place. This son was called EWEKA (because he clasped or joined the two people together). He was the first OBA of the Bini, and the present deposed OBA Overami traces his ascent to him.

[1] EZOMO — EDOHAN.
IHOLO — OLOTTO.
OLIHA — INE.
ERO — ELEMA.

[2] They say that he found OGIFA accompanied by AZELE and OGIAMI accompanied by IHELIGO.
OGI'FA=OGIE the king of EFA the people.

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The OBA'S throne or chair was placed on a platform of mud three steps above the ordinary level of the ground ; this throne was called EKETE.

The OBA'S official dress was of beads and composed of

1.	ERUIVIE	bead crown.
2.	ODIGBA	broad collar.
3.	EWIVIE	bead coat.
4.	ERUHAN	skirt.
5.	EGWUNBAW	bracelets.
6.	EGWONWE	anklets.
7.	EBE	a flat kind of knife in his right hand.
8.	ERIGO	a two-forked instrument in his left hand.

But you have seen representations of him in brasswork (see Plate VIII, Fig. 3, *Antiquities of Benin City*), so that further description of him is unnecessary.

Neither need I dwell on his atrocious despotism, which finally brought him to ruin, and disposed H.M. Government to place the people of this kingdom under its protection.

The OBA'S immediate attendants may be recognised by the custom of wearing their back hair divided by three partings, a custom they enjoyed with the OBA and IOBA. Their names were as follows and their title OGBON :—

EHIOBA	representing the spirit of the OBA.
UHIONBA	„ „ head „ „
EWEN	the wise man.
OHÓISA 1 (OHOEN OYISA)	his chaplains or men of god.
„ 2	
INENE.	
IHAZA.	

Other Servants.

IHODON	in charge of the IWARAME or herdsmen.
INENIGUN, EHOLO II	workers in brass and ivory.
AWSA	juju maker.
AMAGIZEMI	storekeeper (from the Portuguese word a magazem).

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The sons of the OBA were, and are still called OBIOBA, and of these the eldest is entitled EDAĪKIN, and had his residence between the SHELU and IKPOBA roads. The other sons were sent out as viceroys to govern different districts or collection of towns, and became known as OGI'CI.

Thus we have these OGI'CI (or viceroys who were succeeded by their sons) still ruling over the districts which were once given to the OBIOBA, in the same way as in the Kongo.

In the case of the present deposed OBA OVERAMI, EGWABASIMI should be the EDAIKIN and OSWALELE is an OBIOBA. The daughters of OVERAMI are EBAHABUKUN, OMONO, and GRINYAMI. These women may choose their own husbands, and when widows may cohabit with whom they like. The children of these daughters are called EKĀIWI.

The chief OSULA is the EKĀIWI of ADOLO, Overami's predecessor.

There are six great chiefs who may represent the OBA in one or other of his six great estates; they are EZOMO (called also OJUMO), ERU (called AIRO and ARO), OLIHA, EDAIKIN, OGIFA, IYASE.

EZOMO in the popular parlance of travellers in Africa is the "great war chief," but as a matter of fact he combined with his office as head of the war department an office nearly equivalent in a primitive kind of fashion to that of the Lord Chancellor as head of the Court of Equity. Among his followers was the famous general OLUGBOSHERI, who led the troops against and massacred Consul Philips' expedition on its way to Benin city. This office of general is hereditary, and OLUGBOSHERI'S son under the OBA'S *régime* would have succeeded to his father's position. EZOMO was the only great chief who gloried in a "court" similar to that of IOBA, that is to say he was followed by his chiefs and followers under the offices of IWEBO, IWEGWE, IBIWE, and IWASE. ERU[1] was a great judge a kind of Lord Chief Justice with all the policemen at his call. OLIHA must have been a kind of Archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] ERU is spoken of as ARO or AIRO.

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as he crowned the king. The above three great chiefs had the right to sacrifice human beings.

EDAĨKIN, as the eldest son, represents the state and medicine men outside the compound of the OBA.

OGIFA[1] is said to represent all the people. He is the direct descendant of the OGIFA who was in the city when the son of AWYAW first came. He may be said to hold an office somewhat like that of the Speaker of the House of Commons. He used to call the people together for great palavers, etc.

All the above great chiefs are succeeded by their sons in their offices.

IYASE[1] or IYASERI is head of the nobles or EGÃIBU such as IHASA, ESAWN, ESOGBAN, and many others. He had three immediate followers OSUMA, ESOGBAN, and ESAWN. He could pick men out of the different classes of chiefs and make them EGÃIBU. IHASA, for instance, was serving under UNWAGWE, the chief of the IWEBO, and was thus ennobled or made an EGÃIBU by IYASE. IYASE is not succeeded by his son, but is chosen by the OBA from one of the great chiefs of the kingdom. He was also regent on the OBA'S death or during his absence.

All these foregoing six viceroys were paramount without the compound of the OBA, but within that enclosure the heads of the following six offices were paramount :—

The six great offices in the OBA'S compound were the IWEBO, ABIOGBE, IHOGBWI, IWASE, IWEGWE, and IBIHE, representing in a primitive fashion, equity, justice, Church, State, Commons and Lords. Each of these offices was filled by a pair of great chiefs and their followers, who were of four grades more or less according to their wealth.

1. Those who could sacrifice one cow to their father and one to their mother.
2. Those who could sacrifice one cow to their father and a goat to their mother.
3. Those who could sacrifice goats.
4. The rest who could sacrifice fowls.

[1] These two chiefs had the right of sacrificing one cow to their father and one cow to their mother.

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The office of Iwebo was in the hands of UNWAGWÉ and ELIBO[1]. When OBA made father, it was UNWAGWÉ who brought him the cowries (IGO) to be sprinkled with chalk, and the beads that were washed in the blood of the human beings sacrificed. These two chiefs also acted as arbitrators within the compound of the OBA. Some of their followers were as under :—

AYABAHAN EHIOBA OLAIYI OBADAWGBON.	1 class.
OSAGWE EHASA OSHIA	2 class.
AWSOLAIYI EBALOGBAN ELI UNOYINYE ASOKON NABORI 1 „ 2 INENE.	3 class.

ABIOGBE.—This office is in the hands of *OKAIBOGA[1] and OKAIWAGGA[1] and their follower OKADOGĪRA.[3] All land questions were in their hands, and it was OKAIBOGA who conducted the sons of the OBA to the different countries where they were destined to act as viceroys. Until H.B.M. Government took over this protectorate this chief used to receive yearly presents from the viceroys thus inducted. The above pair were in charge of the policemen called OKOW.

IHOGBWI.—This was the office of sacrificers and was in the hands of IHAMA[1] (whose son succeeded him in office) and SIGHURE,[2] with their assistant, LEGAMA.[3]

IWASE.—This was the office of the learned doctors and

* The numbers after the names of these officers mark their class.

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medicine men, and it was held by the pair, IGWESIBO [8] and OGIEMESE.[3] Their followers were :—

OBEMAWAW
OGIMASE
OBAKBE
EDALIGBON
OBADIALU
AROYHIA
ASSOHAN
OBADIGE
OBARRIASE
OTOMI NI WEGIE
} 3.

The two chiefs at the head of the office of IWEGWE were ISIRI and BAZILU. These chiefs and their followers had to look after the household or the common wealth of all. Under them were the OKA, or headmen. They used to go with the OBA to his farm at harvest time by the HUMIDUMU (head-quarters) road, and help in the "play" that was there enacted. Some of the great IWEGWE were as under :—

ASWEN
OBADISAGBON.
} 1.

OBASEKI
OBADAGBOYI
OBANYAGBON
OTOMI NI WEGBE
} 2.

ZAMA
OGBAYLOGBOI
AKENOWA
OGWA
OHOMBA
EWEN
} 3.

The office of IBIHE was confided to the care of INE (YAMO) and OBAZWAIYI. They had to keep the OBA

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supplied with wives and slaves, and were, generally speaking overlords. Their followers were :

ABOHUN IMARAN OSHUDI in charge of king's wives AWBALAIYI	1.
ARASE OBAYAGBON EHOLO I. AWBAMOYI USHO BAYAWANA IMASOGIE	2.
IBAGWA OSIOGWA	3.

All these chiefs had the right to wear the broad bead collar called ODIGBA.

They were not succeeded in office by their sons, but if the sons were wealthy they had the first refusal of the office. Their offspring belonged to the class in which their fathers served. Thus all children of the chiefs under the office IBIWE were IBIWE, and so on. The OBA, however, took people out of one class and put them into the other.

No one could approach the OBA save through one of these chiefs, and all tribute (IDIGWE) was paid to the King through them. They received for their trouble 25 per cent. of the whole amount brought in. These tribute-receiving chiefs were called NOTWEYEBO. Each of them had boys of their own in the towns thus paying tribute, and they were called OKUSHUEBO.

The OBA'S ambassador was called OKAWBA.

The BINI kingdom then was governed by the OBA through six offices by two kinds of chiefs, *i.e.*, pro-kings without the walls of his compound, and six pairs of chiefs acting as assessors within the compound. So that, bereft of attendants and followers, the constitution (EVIUMBA) of

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the Bini government resolves itself into the following formula:

The OBA as head of six departments (represented at times by the six pro-kings).

Six pairs of assessors representing six offices.

The titles under which we hear of the OBA of the BINI spoken about are :—

OBADUDUDU, perhaps the Oba of Heaven, the name of the supreme goddess among the yoruba ODUDUA.

ENONYAGBON, the lord of the earth.

AGBAGE LO GI' OLUKUN, the offspring of OLUKUN that we all want to see.

OGIE NO GBOMA ADENUWUIGHOMA, slayer of men who do not want to die.

AKPOLPOLO, the biggest one.

ELIMIDU, the oro whip.

OBA, emperor.

ADIMILA O SAKEJI, second to God.

Thus among the Bini, as among the Bavili, we have two great courts, first, the OBA ruling in person under six great titles, helped by his twelve assessors, and second, the twelve under the regent IYASE or IYASERI and the pro-kings. If, then, the writer is correct in believing that this form of government among the Bavili is the product of NKICIISM, which includes the seasons, we may expect to find traces of this philosophy among the Bini.

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CHAPTER XVIII

BENIN DISTRICTS

QUARTERS.

The Provinces.—Benin City.—The King's Compound.—Bronzes.—A Bini House.

DISTRICTS.

THE OBA'S central province was bound by the rivers OYISA, OKWO, OVIA, OLUKUN, AWREHOMO, and IKPOBA. From the city through this province to six outlying districts or provinces, six great roads led, and these roads and districts were under the following chiefs :—

Gilly-Gilly	under	EZOMO.
Udo	„	OLIHA.
Shelu	„	ERO.
Geduma	„	OGIFA.
Sapoba	„	OGIAMI.
Sapelli	„	ELEMA.

The neutral (or ambassador's province) under ELAUWEY was bounded by the rivers OFUSU, OHA, and upper OVIA or OSSE, with its capital at OKENUE or OKELUSE. When they reached this place ELAUWEY told Bini to go on to OGIFA'S place and that he would follow in five days (but he stayed there and formed the province as a kind of buffer province between the Yoruba and Bini Kingdoms).

In each of these districts there are a certain number of OGIE (OGICI). In ELAUWEY, OGÚTE, the two Bale, UHEIN and IKOHA, under OJIMA of OKENUE.

ODOLOBO Sapelli road under ELEMA seems to have

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extended to UMUGUMO and the country between the rivers EKHIMI, IGBAGON, and OLUKUN.

The ogies are:—

OGYUMUGUMU IZAWGBO.
" NUGU.
OGIEBAZOGBI.
OGIOGEGE.
OGIEWISI.
OGIEABABO.

ODIYOKOREOMO (sapoba under Ogiami) is the district between the rivers EKHIMI and AUREHOMO, and here we find the following OGIES:—

OGYUGU.
OGIEWEHIGAI.
OGIEWEHIA.
OGYOGAN.
OGYOGBA.
OGYOHEZI.
OGYOMEDI.
OGULEGUN.
OGUKHIRI.

ODIYEKPOBA and ODUHUMODE (Geduma under Ogifa) the country bound by the Ifon road, the Awrehomo and the IKPOBA rivers with the OGIES:—

OGIEGMA.
OGIEHOBI.
OGIEKO.
OGIEBWI.
OGYUGO NEYEKPOBA.
OGYUBE.
OGIWAN.
OGIEBONWAN.
IHOLO NISI.
ODUHUMODE.
OGIEYNIE.
OGIEWOMUDU.
OHENUKUDI (Juju).

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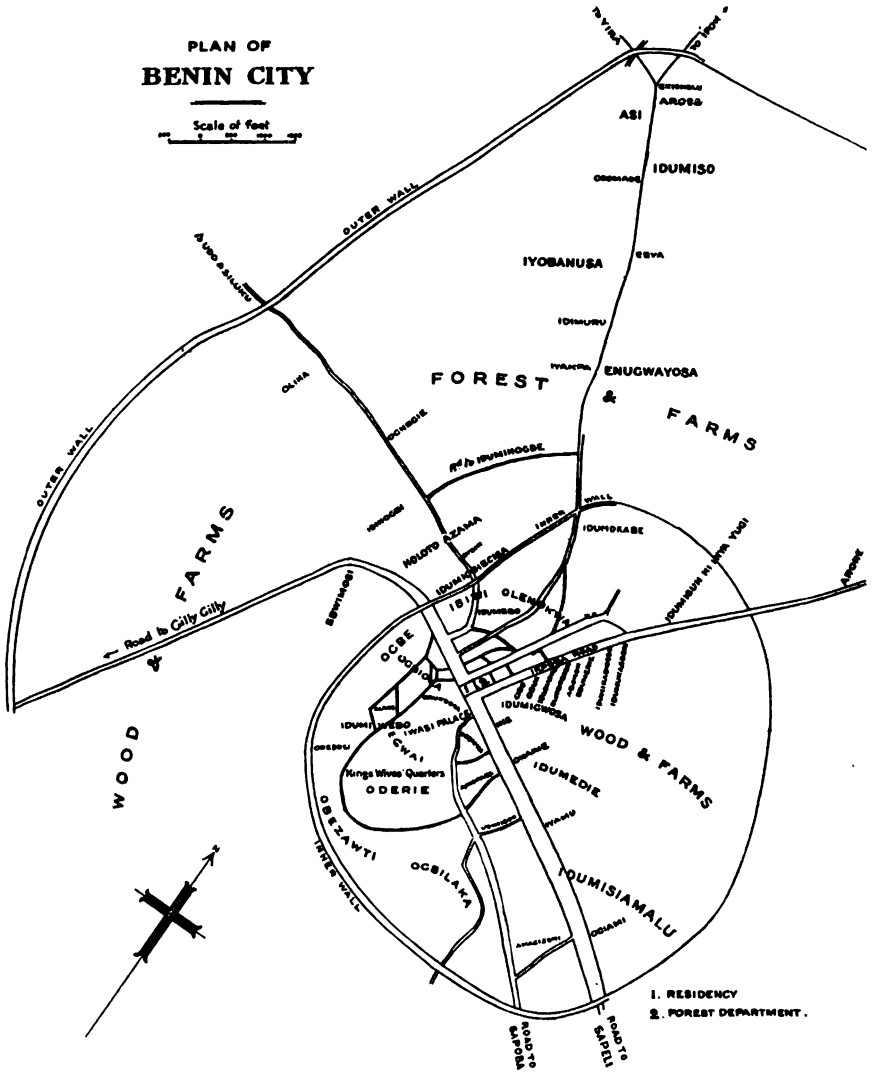
OGYUGA.
IHOLO NU GEDUMA.
OGIHAW.
OGIERWA.
OGIEUHI.
OGIRHUE.
IEKUSHELU under ERO with the OGIES :—
OWAZA. Cap from AWYAW.
OGYUNWAN.
OGIOWA.
OGINWHAN.

ODUDO or ODIDUMIHOGBI (Udo road under OLIHA) within the centre province. OGIES :—

OGIEGAW.
OGUSE.
OGIOMI.
OGIOGEGE.
OGIOKELE.
OGIEGBAN.
OGIEBOLEKPE.
OGYUTOKA.
OGYUIE.
OGYULOMO.
OGYIGWOGI.
OGYIHOGWA.
OGIEKEZI.
OGIDA.
On the far side of the Ovia (river Osse):—
OGETETI.
OGYUGOLO.
OGIESI.
OGYUTESI.
OGYEGBATA.
OGYUDO having died intestate IYASE NUDO governs in his place, in UDO.
ODUGWATON or ODUZABU (Gilly Gilly road under EZOMO).
No OGIE.

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See page 185.

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Under these OGIES are many villages ruled over by headmen equivalent to the KONGOZOVO in the Kongo. These headmen have a number of families under them, each of which have land given to them for planting. There may be waste land in a province or a kingdom, but that is not to say that it is no man's land for it belongs either to the OGIE or the OBA.

There were three other roads (Pl. XIV) leading from the OBA'S Compound to places within the outer wall, ODUHUMI-DUMU to the east, where the OBA "played," and ODOKORAW to the residence of the OBA'S eldest son, and ODIEKOGBA to the country at the back of the palace.

The OBA'S Compound became the centre of a very large city surrounded by two great ditches and the thrown-up earth forming walls on either side of them.

It takes one more than half an hour's hard walking to march from the inner wall or ditch on one side of the city to the same on the other side. And from the inner to the outer wall the distance varies from 1,000 to 3,600 paces.

The main roads are those leading from the Oba's Compound to Siluka, Yira and Ifon, Geduma, Sapoba, Sapeli, and Gilly Gilly.

In the olden days when the Sapoba and Gilly Gilly roads were unbroken approaches to and only bordered on one side by the palace wall and on the other by IMARAN'S house they must have had a very grand and beautiful appearance. A hundred paces broad, these green glades were lined by trees growing on the raised sweeping of years on either side.[1]

It was the duty of certain towns to come in to Benin City yearly and clean and sweep these glorious entrances to the palace.

1. The OBA'S Compound was roughly divided into three quarters. The OBA'S quarter EGWAĨ. The wives' quarter ODERIE, and the Eunuchs' quarter called after the first great Eunuch URUKPOTA.[2]

[1] The poorer people who could not afford to bury their dead in houses threw their bodies on to this road, so that with these and the bodies of people sacrificed it really had an awful appearance.

[2] They say that OVERAMI did not castrate people to act as Eunuchs, but that

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Then there were eleven other divisions into which the City was divided and the names of these parts are those of the great chiefs who first founded them.

2. The beadmen's quarter (OBADAGBONYI) known as IDUMI WEBO. These people under NWAGWE appear to have partly lived close to the King in his Compound and partly to the N.W. of it.

3. Then to the South, behind the wall of the ODERIE was the quarter called OGBEZAWTI.

4. From here to where OBASEKI has his house was called ŌGBE.

5. Round about where ARASI has his house was called OGBIOKA (OBA'S son's quarter).

6. And where OBAYAGBON has his house was named the IDUMU IBIWI.

7. And where IHALIKA lives was called IDUM'EBO.

8. Then from the UDO or SILUKU road to the IKPOBA or GEDUMA road is named after OLENOKWA.

9. And from the IKPOBA road to the SAPOBA road the name is IDUMGWOSA as far as the house of PUSH PUSH.

10. From the latter's house along the Sapoba road is still called IDUMEDIE.

11. From there to the ditch, near the Sapeli road is called IDUMSIAMALU.

12. From the Sapeli road to OGBEZAWTI is called OGBILAKA.

In the OBA'S Compound there was also a quarter called IDUMWUKI, where certain people observed the changes of the moon.

Each of these twelve quarters contained "Houses" or small quarters belonging to certain chiefs.

EBWIMOSI, a spot close to the second wall on the Gilly Gilly road, was where EZOMO (or OJUMO) used to sacrifice people.

any child who had the misfortune to be born without, or by an accident to lose these parts, was brought by his parents to the king. It is possible that this is in part the truth, but what about those holes in the wall of a town not far from Benin City, through which they say the victim's head was thrust while this operation was carried out.

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On the IKPOBA road, about fifteen hundred yards from the Residency at IDUMIGUN NI INYA YUGI the blacksmiths had their shops, and some 150 yards from the river IKPOBA is the grove AR'ORE.

On the UDO or SILUKU road, a hundred yards on the other side of the first wall, is IDUMIOBIECISA, a place where the test for witchcraft used to be administered, and some 260 yards further on near HOLOTO is AZAMA, where the OBA-elect went previous to being crowned.

On the SHELU road, 700 yards or so from the first ditch is IYAKPA or the gate dividing the Queen Mother from her people, and 500 yards further on is EEYA, where the Queen Mother has erected her new quarters. About 3000 yards from the Residency on this road is God's Grove called ARO'SA, and it was here that the OBA sent his son with a goat to sacrifice immediately after he had been crowned.

The late OBA'S palace was nearly in the centre of what is known as the OBA'S Compound, his predecessors' palaces and their ruins being to the north-west of it. Near to each of these palaces, and I think there were thirty-one of them, was a deep well (OVVIO, being the name of the late OBA'S well), where they threw the bodies of the human beings sacrificed. Round about the palace were the headquarters of the IWASI, IWEBO, IBIWI, and IWEGWE, while to the South and East the houses of the OBA'S many wives were scattered. The wall running round the ODERIE or wives' quarter, or the back semi-circular wall of the Compound, was considered sacred and no outsider was allowed even to touch it under the penalty of death.

The front wall ran in a straight line along the Sapoba to Gilli Gilli road, almost North-west and South-east for about 500 yards, and it was called OBOLOBA. The quarter behind it was called IDUMIWEBO, part of which is situated near to the OBA. The second wall was called OZAMOKO, while the quarter behind it was that of the Eunuchs, called URUKPOTA. The third wall was called UGOHE and the quarter behind it UGWOZOLA. Here the late OBA had a tin house built upon iron pillars, and it was in this quarter where people wishing to see him had to wait. There is a

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deep pit here and another just behind the present cemetery: these pits are called IRIDIAWĀI.

I never saw the palace, and cannot therefore describe it, but while wandering about its ruins I have come across holes in the ground some 15 feet deep, which were in some of the divisions of the palace, and were used by the late OBA as the burial place of those visitors whom he did not wish to see again.

The people still dig amongst the ruins of the palace for the bronzes the OBA and his followers valued so much. Mr. Erdmann, a well known German trader, on his last visit to Benin City informed me that he had seen the palace just after its roof had been burnt off and had taken many photographs of it. He said that the bronzes were ranged along the walls and served as historical symbols, reminding the historian of the chief events of the past history of the BINI people. Unfortunately this much-respected trader died on his way home in the year, 1904.

Inside the first or second wall was the tree under which people were sacrificed to the Rain power, this ceremony was called AIYAWOMANAMI.

People were sacrificed to the Sun[1] power under the UBOGWE tree which once stood just in front of the first wall outside the Compound. Where murderers are now hung under the OKHA and ULOHE trees near to IMARAN'S quarter the ceremonies connected with the new Yam Juju were commenced.

And in the ODERIE where there is now a fowl house, and under the IKHIMI tree cows were sacrificed.

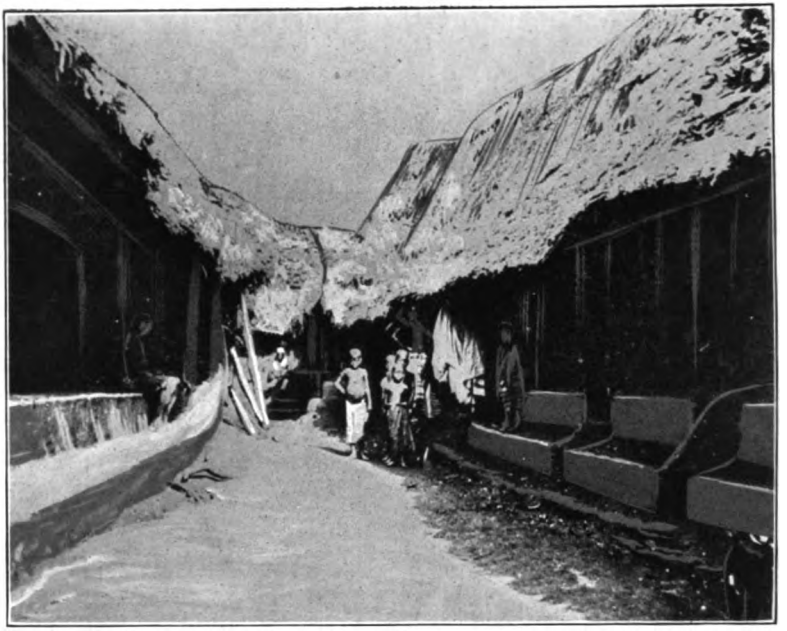
What we know now as the Sapeli Road was called UBOKA, while just outside the Residency on the Sapoba Road there was a place and a tree to which people used to be tied called the OGYUWO. Along one side of the IKPOBA road there are the ruins of a line of blacksmiths' shops, and blacksmiths are still found in different parts of the city working in iron and brass. The present productions in brass are rough and crude, but there are some artists who sculpture very well in clay, and so ornament the pillars in some of the houses of the Benin

[1] This was called AIYAWOMANUKBO.

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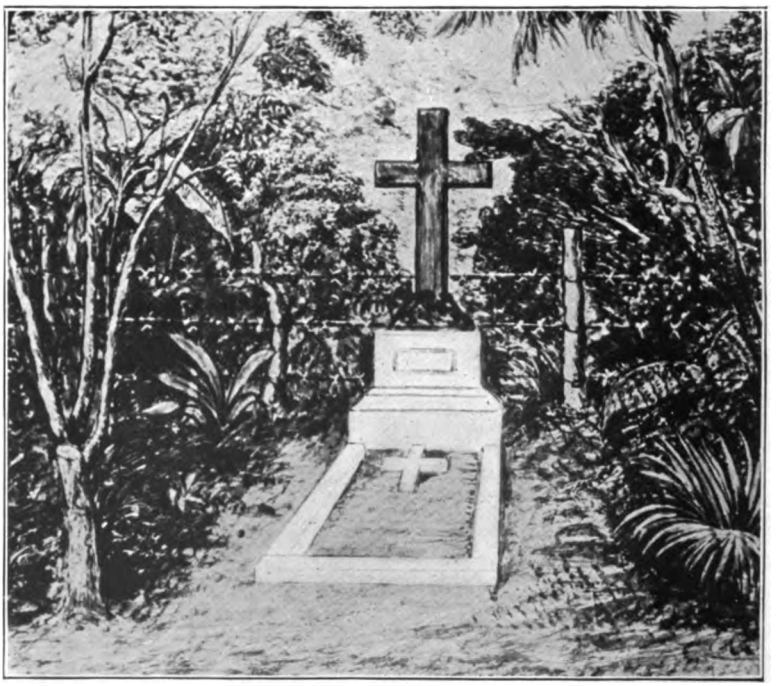
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PLATE XV*a*



The part of a Bini house called ODERIE, marked No. 15 on Plan. *See page* 189.

PLATE XV*b*



Cross erected on the Gilly-gilly Road, near to UGBENI, where Consul Philips and his comrades were massacred. *See page* 173.

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City Chiefs. Carvers in wood also exist, but the ivory carvers cannot be compared to those of Luango south of the Equator.

Upon showing the photos of bronzes and ivory in the "Antiquities of Benin" to certain chiefs, their surprise and satisfaction was very great, and they were glad to think that most of their ancient works of art still exist. It is to be hoped that private collectors of these bronzes may some day bequeath their collections to the British Museum, and that photographs at any rate of those collections in the Hamburg and Berlin Museums may be obtained and made accessible to the public. The future educated BINI as a British subject has a right to expect to find as full a collection as possible of these bronzes, etc., in this Imperial Museum.

By a house, I mean the abode of a family[1] living under its head, and not merely the dwelling place of an individual.

This house (Pl. XVI) is built on the same lines, though on a smaller scale than a chief's palace.

Passing along a road (ODÉ) one comes to a fence on one side of it, and this outer fence they call OGBOLI. Passing through an entrance there is, at a given distance, a second fence called EGODOLI, and then a third called EKUNUGOLI before coming to the house. The front wall of this house is called EBOWI, the side walls IGIEKA, and the back wall IYEKOWA.

The space between the enclosing wall and the house in front is called AGUDULI, while those on the sides and back are made into a garden called EGUN.

The house is divided into three sections, the centre part being the husband's quarters, looking towards the road to the left the wives' quarters ODERIE (Pl. XV*b*), and to the right the young men's quarters YEKOGBE. The doorway is called EKU, while the passages are called OBIOVIO.

The rooms are ranged in both these latter quarters on the inner sides of the outer walls of the house and the outer sides of the walls of the husband's quarter, and are mere lean-to sheds.

[1] The family is called EGBE, and is composed of ERA, father, OMIWU, the sons of the father, EYE, INYHEYHI, SAPAMAREGUDI, EGABIONA and the next our generations, none of whom may intermarry.

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The centre part or husbands' quarters of an ideal Bini house is divided into four rooms.

1. IKUNU OGULI or ALERA, father's room, where there is an altar to the memory of the occupant's father.

2. IKUNU KADICI or ALWIYE, mother's room.

3. IKUNU AROHUMU, the reigning son's room, or the head's grove or temple.

The entrance passage to this room is called ONURU, and facing you as you enter is the side of the altar AROWEBO (bead grove or altar).[1] There is an entrance to the wives' quarter from this. The roofs of these rooms incline towards the centre, which is an open square, and is upheld by a pillar (EHAWI) in each corner of the square. The floor of this square is about twelve inches or more below the level of the floor running round it, and this basin is called EGUDU. On the side opposite the altar is a raised platform of mud serving as a sofa or bed which is called UKBO. On the left hand side, just after entering the third room, are two closed-in rooms which you enter through small openings in the wall, one being the wife's room UGUGA, and the other the husband's room, OGWA.

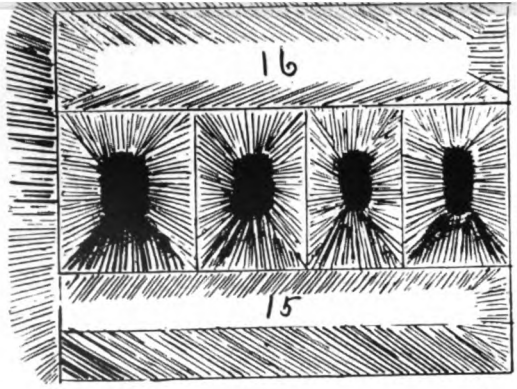
The fourth room is a spare quarter called ODUOWA, and in a garden on the outside of the back wall of the ODUOWA is a general or medicine altar called OGUSHUN.

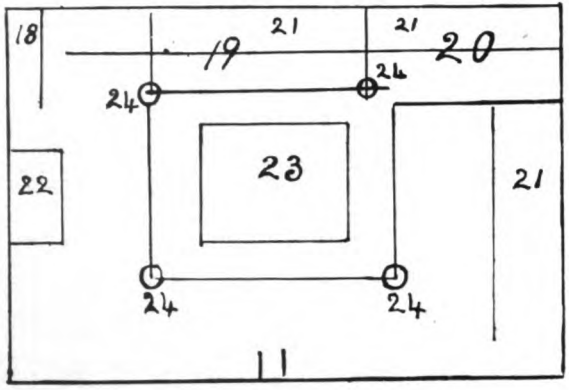
They call the roof EROHUMOWA, and it is made of the leaves (EBE) of a reed-like plant with a large leaf called EMWAME.

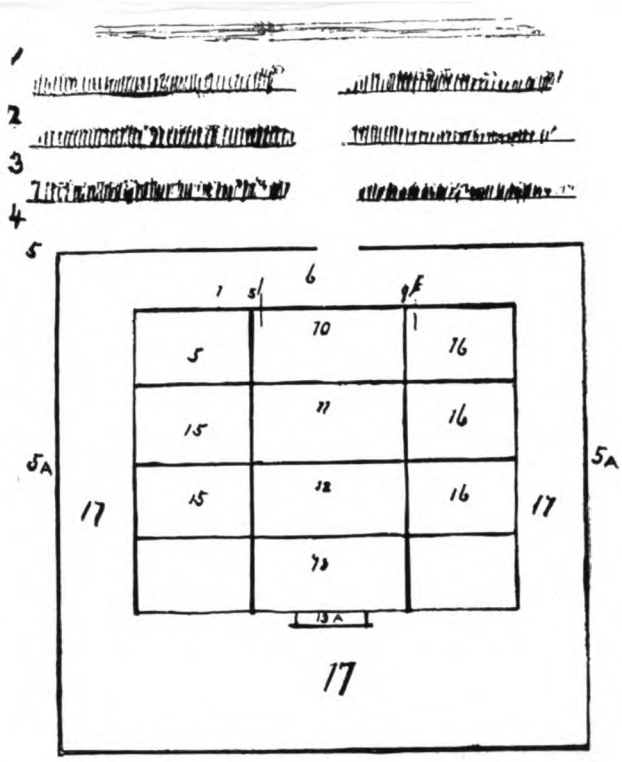
The ridge pole goes by the name OKPO, the rafter EREDOMI, while the opening or funnel down which the rain flows into the EGUDU is called the OBOTO.

[1] For contents of this altar see under OLUKUN.

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A Bini House.

See page 190.

1. Ode.
2. Ogboli.
3. Egodoli.
4. Ekunugoli.
5. Ebowi.
5A. Igieka.
5B. Iyekowa.
6. Aguduli.
7. Eku.
8. Obiovio.
9. Eku.
10. Ikunu Oguli.
11. Ikunu Kadici.
12. Ikunu Arohumu.
13. Oduowa.
14. Ogushun.
15. Oderie.
16. Yekogbe.
17. Egun.
18. Onuru.
19. Uguga.
20. Ogwa.
21. Ukbo.
22. Arowebo.
23. Egudu
24. Ehawi

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CHAPTER XIX

BINI CUSTOMS

Some Bini Fetishes or Jujus—EMATON.—The Phallic Pillar, God and the Devil.—Marriage Customs.—Secret Societies.

THE Bini call a wizard AZE but the Jakri word is OLOTCHO which is not very different from the word used by the BAVILI, *i.e.*, NDOTCHI. A person accused of witchcraft is given the bark of the INYI pounded up together with water. If the accused vomits he is considered innocent, if he does not the poison generally kills him, and his guilt is thus proved.

The drum language does not appear to exist much north of Old Calabar, and the Bini will tell me nothing about it.

When the OBA makes father (EZIMI) the big thick looking drum beaten in the father's house is called EKUN ALWERA.

Then the musicians carry :—

Two long drums called	IDAN	tum tum	
One small „	„	UKE	short drum like ours in shape.
One medium „	„	IGEGAN	„ „
One large „	„	IMIGAN	„ „

Road jujus are called MWIHEYO.

Cowries represent the	EBAMI	AKE	
A big stone „	„	„	OKWHAĨHE
Pebbles „	„	„	OVIA
A spoilt gun „	„	„	OGUN (war)

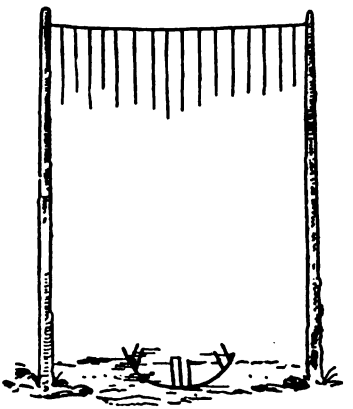
And when the people hear or notice that a road has a MWIHEYO put on it they talk of the road as ULAWMA.

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Osun are Jujus to which certain Doctors or Obos are attached.

Some times as you are marching you will notice a bunch of leaves tied together fastened to a branch of a tree, this they call ESHU SHU, which might be translated little devil, and may be the origin of the word JUJU used here much as the word fetish is south of the equator.

A fence made of Kola saplings, planted four or five feet apart, tied together with native string, screens a tree with a



OMEY, entrance to AROVIA, a grove sacred to OVIA, similar to MABILI in the Congo, with chalk marks as above in half circle on the ground in front of entrance.

piece of cloth wrapt round it, and bottles, wood, and cones of chalk at its root is called EKEJI.

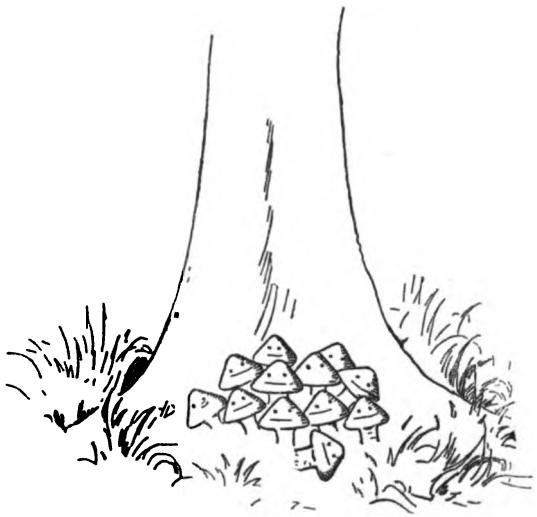
OMEHU is a tree found near most villages with a collection of ant-hills heaped about its roots. They say this is to make women bear children.

At IGUSALA there is a double IKHIMI tree growing behind a nicely kept fence, with a strip of cloth round it. Between its buttresses are a pot of water, a drinking cup, shells, the bark of a tree, AWAWA (spoon bill) and goats' heads, and nearly round its base are seats for people to sit upon. While under a little shed, upon a wooden grill, rest great lumps of EKWHĂ (a kind of pudding made of the bean-like seeds of a tree) being smoked by a fire underneath them.

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In the forest between ADENYOBA and ITE is a sacred stone called OKUTA.

On the Sapoba road there is a tree with the usual mound of earth and cowries in front of it, planted they say to mark the place where the top of EZOMO's ladder fell. The story goes that this great war chief heard it thunder and wanted to know what enemy of the Oba's it was who evidently wished to fight him, so he built a ladder to reach up to the heavens. When he and all his people were on the ladder and just



OMEHU, ant-hills placed at foot of tree near any village.

getting at the home of thunder, it gave way, and the top end of it fell where the tree is growing, about three miles from EZOMO's house.

Near to these sacred spots you will often find pots of water and cups, or yams or bananas, with the price in cowries against the cup or the food to be sold. I have never known these silent markets abused.

The people swear by licking and touching stones, iron, cowries, bits of twisted rope, and the crushed dried leaves of a plant, asking these things to kill them if they are not telling

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the truth. These swear jujus are called EKHWAĬ, and there is generally an EKHWAĬ in connection with an OSUN.

The only fetishes into which nails, etc., are driven which the writer has noticed are two very old ones preserved in the temple to OLUKUN.[1]

The EMATON (the thing you keep on digging) is a very important OSUN among the BINI, quite a number were found stuck into the ground near to the King's palace.

The EMATON (Pl. XVII) is an iron staff ornamented with two figures of the chameleon, the signs of wisdom, one just above and one below four leaf-like figures pointing downwards representing AJA, or that knowledge of medicines and lore supposed to be taught to man by the fairies who take certain people into the bush for this purpose. Then opposed to the AJA at the top of the staff is a bunch of figures surmounted by the representation of a horse and a bird.

This bird they call the AKIAMAWLO, which translated means—There existed previously the continued state of the living thou and him.

The figure of the horse bearing the bird stretches across the circle of figures to points between the two prongs of two figures. They call this ESIN (the act of exposing to sight). The figure marked 3 on the sketch represents the two tail feathers of the bird called ARIOKPA (the first one who sees). This bird is also called IFE or love, and IFE is, as you know, a town in Yoruba land, from which all people are said to have come. (Can this mean that the BINI believe themselves to be the children of the spirit of light and love?)

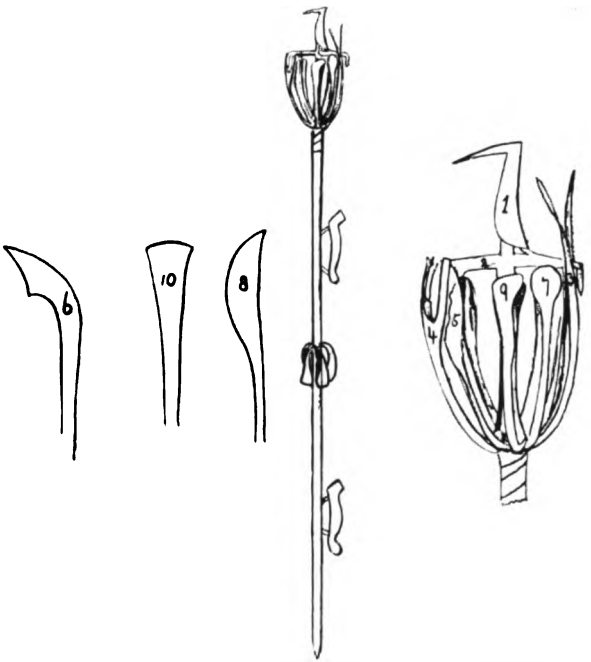
The above, like Mawalala, stand outside the formula.

Category 1. Figure 8 is meant to represent that semi-circular knife which is used to separate the skin from the body of the yam and is called ELULIMA, the act of having to keep on boring (the Bavili look upon the sky as solid, and so do the Bini, in the sense that a roof is solid). This semi-circular knife, then, conveys the idea of "the heavens."

Category 2. Figure 7 represents the flat round hoe with which they hoe the earth, and they call this figure EGWE, the act of being.

[1] See OLUKUN.

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EMATON.

1. AKIAMAWLO.
2. ESIN.
3. ARIOKPA.
4. ELELI.
5. EBEN.
6. ADA.
7. EGWE.
8. ELULIMA.
9. IKHU.
10. OGWANA.

See page 194.

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The IKO pillar before the native court house at EBIYAWMALO. *See page* 195



The three pillars and three trees at IÃIU. *See page* 197.

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Category 3. Figure 10 represents the axe OGWANA (the relative in law of OGUN, the Yoruba "power" presiding over implements of war and hunting). The story says that an old lady who would cut wood on their first day (=Sunday) was banished to the moon. OGUN=blacksmith who by the help of fire makes his implements.

Category 4. Figure 9 represents the machet called IKHU (the act of cutting up the dead wood, which is a motion).

Category 5. Figure 5 represents the flat (fish-knife-like) knife that the Oba of Benin used to carry in one hand. It was held upwards towards the heavens when the King made a prayer of supplication, and is called EBEN, connected with the word EBAW, sacrifice or offering, and the Dove. I am not at present able to associate this knife with harvest.

Category 6. Figure 6 represents the knife used by the Oba to slay men or animals for sacrifice, and it is called ADA (one who propagates). This certainly entails suffering. And finally we come to the two-pronged figure joined as it were to IFE, which is called ELELI (the witness who speaks).

Thus was the Oba as God's representative on earth reminded of his descent from God through IFE, and so did the EMATON convey to all who chose to look at it that man is of spirit, body, and mind, and that there are three distinct kinds of knowledge, *i.e.* that which he receives directly from God, that which he obtains from his animal nature, and that which he is taught by the elf AJA.

THE PILLARS IKO (MEETING) AND OYISA (GOD).

At a town called EBIYAWMALO, which I visited in company with Dr. A. G. Christian, we noticed a pillar (Pl. XVIII) in

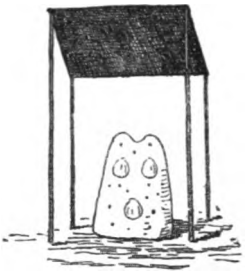


Pillar, or IKO, in front of meeting-house at EBIYAWMALO.

front of the native Court-house, and the chief told us that it was called IKO (a meeting).

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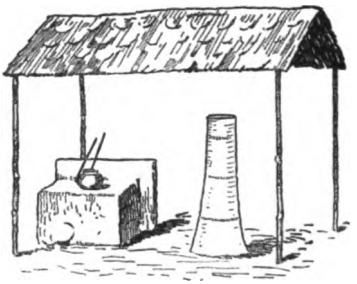
Not far from here we noticed a hollow pillar under a small shed, and the chief of the place called that IKO also. This



A hollow clay pillar, IKO, at OKPWEBO, with three Achatena shells inserted in it.

pillar was of red sun-dried mud, and three shells were fixed in the mud on the side of the pillar exposed to our view.

Then at ADENYOBA near the OVIA river there is an altar



Pillar, called OYISA, and altar with IKHURE sticks and pot of water on it at ADENYOBA.

to OYISA placed under a shed, by the side of which is an ornamented whitewashed pillar or IKO.

In the bush near to the village called OVA there is a stunted



Squat pillar at OVA, called ADAMBI, said to be female.

squat kind of pillar which they call ADAMBI and described as a woman "Juju."

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Then at OWO, in the Oba's Palace yard, I noticed a pillar, and the king called it OROBALE (which might be translated the husbands' ward).

Then, proceeding farther away from the sea into the KUKURUKU country at ISULE, the Conservator and self noticed a triune pillar under a little shed, the figures being back to back and those of two males and a female. This the Chief called BABATCHIGIDDI (or earthenware image of the father).

But shortly after this we entered the village of IÃIU, and on the stone plateau near to the chief's house our attention was drawn to three grass-capped figures (Pl. XVIII*b*), two being of solid clay, while the third was simply formed of two upright sticks with a grass cap on it. These figures the chief called ESHI, which was interpreted as being equivalent to the Bini word ESU or ESHU (Devil). On the other hand, three fig-trees growing out of platforms of loose stones collected together close to these figures they called OYISA or God.

At ATEYI there is a figure standing on a platform outside a



A small wooden figure and two pieces of ironstone outside wall of house on a clay platform with a board with pieces of iron driven into it in front of it. The figure is called ESHU, and represents the Devil.

house, by the side of which are two pieces of ironstone, and they called this figure ESHU.

Then all Juju houses have an altar to ESU outside, while those whose houses own the "Juju" AWLOMILA (a

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small basin containing the nut IVIAWNOMILA in a piece of cloth) may also have an altar to ESU outside their houses.

They say that OYISA is a trinity composed of OYISA or

O'SA'LUGIMAIYI[1]	the King of us all on earth.
O'SA'LUBWA	who made us to be.
O'SA'LOGODWA	the queenly mortar of being.

And that he had a son called ESU, or ESHU who is also a trinity composed of

ESHU	the Devil connected with mystery.
OLUKUN	the teacher.
OGYUWU	the King or Queen of Death.

When OSALUBWA was making man he left him in an unfinished state: ESU came along and finished him according to his ideas. OSALUBWA returned, and was much annoyed, and banished ESU to the east, where the Sun comes from (ANIMINIHIA MIVI).

From this it will be noted that while trees symbolise the triune God the Creator, the pillars represent the so-called Devil or procreator in three parts also.

MARRIAGE.

There appear to be two kinds of marriages among the Bini.

Among the upper classes the children are betrothed by their parents from infancy. The present may be a nominal one, such as four kolas, three cowries, and some palm wine, or it may be more.

The man is supposed to keep on giving the child betrothed to him presents until she is grown up; he also makes her parents gifts. The seduction of such a betrothed girl is heavily punished. On the other hand, among the poor the girl is not necessarily betrothed, and a man may seduce her without legal punishment.

The man may refuse to marry his betrothed, and then he

[1] = Ogie × Oyisa × Lugimaiyi
royal self god earth.

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has the right to give her in marriage to anyone, unless she is of noble family, when she can only be given to a free man.

The girl may not refuse to marry the man to whom she is betrothed, or his chosen representative ; but the father may at any time refuse to give his daughter to her betrothed, when he has to refund to him all the presents the would-be husband has given to her and her parents.

When his wife conceives the husband gives her a cock to sacrifice.

The son marries his deceased father's wives, who have not borne children to him.

After the birth of a child, the father gives the mother another name ; the child also will give her mother a name, a friend will also name her, and so one often hears a person spoken of by two or three names.

Very few women in this country are true to their husbands, many of them having at least one lover. When a child is born the woman does not declare who its father is until her husband is dead. Many women live openly with their lovers ; the great majority of cases in court are for return of wife, and many women prefer to go to prison than to return to their legal husbands.

Often on the roads one passes a small tree planted by the side of the road, near where are chalk marks and a mound of earth, cowries, yams, and plaintains. This tree has been planted in memory of the fact that some woman or other has brought forth a child on that spot.

SECRET SOCIETIES.

The object that most of the secret societies round about Benin seem to have had at heart was to check the despotism of the rulers of the people, but often the ruler himself became a member of the society, and thus as its leader secured its services in furthering his own despotic ideas.

The Beni call their society IGWOMORI, and it is said that while still a prince the late OBA OVERAMI became a member of it. The first crime this society committed was on the death of OBA ADOLO and crowning of OVERAMI, and, at the

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latter's suggestion, to execute all the late ADOLO'S councillors. OVERAMI then placed many of the IGWOMORI, sons of the lately executed councillors, in their fathers' place.

The secret society of the ISHAN people played a great part in defending the Benin City chief ABOHON and other refugees after the British had taken Benin City in 1897-8.

There are secret societies at OWO and AKWE.

The SOBO Society is called OTRADA, that at IFON, OTU, while we have only just had a sad experience of the influence of the EKEMEKU, or the Silent Ones, in the hinterland of ASABA.

In an interesting article, dated May 13, in the *West African Mail*, Mr. Hughes, an earnest student of African customs, writes :

"The EKEMEKU Society has for long been in existence. The aim and idea of its establishment was—

"1st. To settle any tribal differences amicably.

"2nd. To uphold the law and institution of their countries according to rights of usage.

"3rd. To prevent any oppression by their kings and chiefs.

"Of late the EKEMEKU Society has become composed for the most part of the younger and more lawless elements, who hold their meetings at night, who work by secret methods, and who are a continual source of terror to the more peaceful natives, whom they compel by threats of death to contribute to their society."

On page 65 of *Great Benin*, Mr. C. Punch is made to say: "I should imagine the Bini would have the ORO fetish, etc. The Bini call this whip ELIMIDU, and it was given to the OKIASON (OKERISON) by the OBA. From the season IHAW to IGWE, men desirous of obtaining a title roamed about armed with an iron instrument, by means of which they endeavoured to kill seven or fourteen people. As witness of their prowess they presented the OBA with the dried breasts of the women and the dried penis of the men they had killed. With these parts of the slain men and women the OBA is said to have made certain medicine for fetish purposes. To give these "braves" a fair chance to accomplish their task, the OBA made the chiefs bring all their people to

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dance in his compound every night. The "braves" ran a great chance of being killed themselves, for it was known that they were about, and naturally the people kept their eyes open. Should one of these aspirers to the rank of nobility be killed by the man attacked, the latter took possession of his dried trophies, and continued the process of killing on his own account.

If a person attacked by one of these people had the presence of mind to cry out the words OGED' EGBOMA AYAN AKPWOKA WAW GAPOKAI (something to the effect that plantains do not kill a man in the day time) it was a matter of honour not to kill him.

The noise of chain and brass anklets as a woman ran away was also a life-saving sign.

When these men had presented the OBA with these parts of seven or fourteen persons the OBA gave them the coral necklace, bracelets, and anklets as a sign that they had become OKIASON; IDUN OHOGBI was their chief, and they lived in OBAYAGBON'S quarter.

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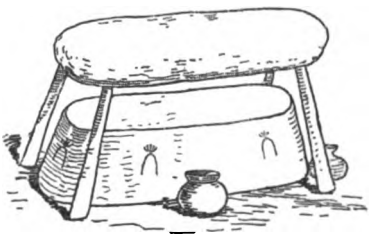
CHAPTER XX

MORE CUSTOMS

Bini Dances.—Making Father.—The Rites.—Women's Dance.—Egugu Dance.—Ovia Dance.

BINI DANCES

IN the afternoon of February 2nd, 1903, after rather a long march, we entered UREZEN, a town not far from UDO, in the



A mound of clay under a rough seat, studded with pots and an iron ornament, like this, here and there. This is called OSUN.

district of Benin. As we neared the blacksmith's shed we noticed twelve figures, quaintly clad, singing a song in falsetto, and a boy. These twelve people were dressed in a dress (OMIGWI), made of strips of leaves of the palm called OME; their heads and shoulders were covered in a mask and mantle of very rough cloth that looked like the material sacks are made of, their heads were crowned by a head-dress of the feathers of the AWAWA. Their arms and hands were encased in long sleeves of the same rough material as their mantles, and in their hands they held sticks which they call IKWATA.

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The boy simply wore a skirt made of strips of palm leaves, but in his hand he held a staff called ERAN. This was made of the rib of the palm leaf knotched at intervals, and surmounted by a bushy tuft of strips of the petiole.



ERAN, the upper part of the branch, or petiole, of the palm tree, knotched with a fringe of the strips of the petiole at the top.

I watched them as they sang and glided about rather than danced, until at last they rustled away, making a cooing noise like that of the OKKU bird, and vanished in the direction of the grove sacred to OVIA.

From time to time, until long after midnight, these dancers kept rushing past the shed or native rest house under which I was encamped, cooing and singing in falsetto.

At times I heard cries coming from the direction of the grove, and wondered what they were, and felt like getting up to see. But cries in a native town are so common that they may mean almost anything, from the howl of a punished child to the cry of a man in grief.

Early next morning I got ahead of my carriers and slipped into the sacred grove. On the road in front of the entrance to the grove were the twelve dresses arranged on posts in a line, and the boy's little one in the same line, but apart. IKHIMI trees were planted at the entrance, while on both sides of the road were lines of Kola trees. Passing the IKHIMI trees, I entered a kind of lane some fifteen or twenty feet long, and then came to a fence[1] and second entrance before I found myself in the grove itself.

At the far side of the circle of cleared bush I noticed the OLUKUN tree, against which was resting the ERAN that had been carried by the little boy the night before. In the centre of this circular grove was a "calabash" or gourd, a pot, and the ashes of what had been a small fire and the feathers of a fowl.

[1] These fences are called EGBON or OBA, and are always formed of the sacred plants IKHIMI, UNWETIOTA, and OTWA.

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About the 15th of March, just after crossing the OSSE or OVIA river, the Conservator of Forests, Mr. H. N. Thompson, and myself arrived at a market place in the ITE creek. The market was in full swing but nearly ending when we got there, and while many of the Jakri women were seated before their wares under the shade of trees, some were just pushing off their canoes from the beach with their cargoes of palm oil and kernels. They were inclined to scamper away on seeing us, but we managed to persuade them to take no notice of us, and purchased food for ourselves and our boys. After we had breakfasted someone began to throw the apple-like fruit of a tree growing there into the river, in the attempt to throw them across. The infection spread, and soon all our carriers were busy competing. It spread further, and the Conservator and I joined in. The Conservator succeeded, and I clapped my hands. This act seems to have been taken by the boys as a signal for a dance—at any rate, they all set about gathering sticks to serve as IKWATA, and soon formed themselves into a circle and commenced singing, keeping time with their feet and by beating their sticks together. Soon one boy danced into the middle of the circle and commenced spinning himself round; then, still spinning and inclined towards the centre of the circle at an angle of 45°, he seemed to whirl round and round the circle until, losing his balance, he came bumping up against one or the other of the boys forming the circle. Some of the boys were very clever at this dance, and they seemed quite keen on out-dancing one another, and on our part we were much interested in it, hardly expecting so scientific a display. Finally the Ranger Mockpai, a powerfully built man, was so moved that he must have a try, so he doffed his red coat and started spinning, and when he whirled around he shook the earth as he touched it, now with one foot and then with the other. The excitement was immense, the singing boisterous, until this ponderous dancer broke loose and cannoned right and left among the boys, who fell down before him like ninepins; then the dancing came to an end.

We purposed crossing the river OSSEOMO or AWREOMO on the morrow (the 22nd April, 1903), so we sent a boy on

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ahead to OKOGBO to say that we were coming and would cross the river in the morning.

We arrived at the crossing a little before 7 a.m. and met our boy there, who informed us that the ferryman had left early in the morning to bring up canoes large enough to carry our party across. As we waited a woman came down the hill from the village above, bringing some food for our boys. She had innocently taken off her cloth and made a pad of it to carry the load on her head the more easily, so that there appeared to be something wanting about her toilet that amused our boys from the city. More women followed her, some of whom appeared very angry. We made inquiries, and found that some scamps among our boys, fearing that there would not be enough food to go round, had determined to forestall matters, and had run along the road and waylaid the ladies, and taken what they considered their share of the food. The Ranger Mockpai and the rest of the boys were annoyed at this, and so the scamps were turned over and given a dozen with a cane. This and the payment for the food taken pacified the good women, and so time went on until nearly 9 o'clock. We now became impatient and started shouting for the canoes, and getting no reply, we fired off a gun—still no reply. At last we prepared a raft and placed the interpreter and a forest guard upon it and told them to cross the river and hurry up the ferryman with the canoes. As they had never crossed the river at this place, and knew nothing of its dangers, they set off quite gaily. It now being nearly eleven, we decided to breakfast. When half way through our meal the canoes turned up, and we relieved our pent-up feelings by expressing them as strongly as we knew how, and would probably have proceeded to further and more strenuous arguments had not our attention been arrested by the woe-begone appearance of our interpreter and forest guard: they were shivering, and looked half drowned. It appeared that while trying to negotiate a turning the raft had upset and left them clinging to the bushes which were growing out of deep swamp, and water where a foothold was an impossibility. The ferryman's canoes had luckily picked them up. No large canoes had been obtainable, so that we had to make our way across

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in the wretchedly small ones that the ferryman had brought, and as we rushed down with the fierce current, and were cleverly steered into different branches of a perfect maze of streams, and kept on ducking our heads to avoid overhanging trees, we began to realise what a foolhardy thing we had done in sending the two boys off on a clumsy raft, and by the time we reached our destination we fully believed the people when they told us that they had not heard us shout or even fire off our guns.

The old Jakri in charge of the market town of Ugo told us that he and his people had been invited by OGUGU to his town, as he was "making father."

We started together, but came to a place where a dispute arose between one of our boys, who professed to know the road, and the old Jakri. We thought that it was just possible that the old man wished to put us off the scent, so that we should not be at Ugo in time for the festivities, so we trusted to our own boy, and after three hours and twenty minutes' walk arrived at the outskirts of the town, only to be met by the old Jakri, who from all appearances had been there some time.

Soon after our arrival, OG'UGU, accompanied by one or two Benin City chiefs and their followers, came to welcome us. He told us that he had intended "making father" that evening, but that as we had come, and the festivities might annoy us, he would put the feast off until we had gone. We thanked him for his welcome, and assured him that we should very much like to be present while he was making father, and prayed him to proceed with his festival just as if we were not present. He seemed pleased to be honoured by our presence, and ordered his people to bring us wood, fire, and water, and food for ourselves and our boys.

Shortly after dark crowds of people bearing lamps and torches came together in front of OG'UGU'S residence. The cloistered wall through which one had to pass to obtain an entrance into his house contained several altars, and as we lay on our camp beds in the rest-house opposite we gazed through the door and window at what was going on before us.

There stood OG'UGU before one of the altars, dressed in what

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appeared to be a red hat and gown—a glowing figure, the lurid light of many torches falling on him. Then a goat was held up so that he might sever its head from its body and sprinkle its blood upon the altar. Six goats were killed, and all the altars within and without the house sprinkled with their blood, and all this was done in comparative quiet. Then OG'UGU, a NABORI holding up one of his arms, and followed by his courtiers, danced before his people. Then followed the three great dances called UKELE, UGULU or SAKWADI, and OHOGO, which I will describe later on. We saw but little of these dances that night, but from the noise that took place the natives appeared to have appreciated them; and then for a time all was quiet. Soon, however, bands of people singing and bearing lamps and torches wended their way in Indian file round about and into OG'UGU'S residence; no sooner had one emerged than another seemed to take its place, and their songs as they approached and wandered about the place and finally departed were weird and beautiful. Some sang softly in falsetto, and some sang songs that reminded us of old Gregorian chants. This went on all night. In the early morning OG'UGU, preceded by a band of drummers and players on beaded gourds, came out of his house, followed by many hundreds of people. Immediately in front of him was a man bearing a dish of cowries (IGO), and just behind him was his umbrella bearer and his courtiers. Under the shade of this umbrella OG'UGU crushed the cones of chalk (ORHUE) and sprinkled the dust upon the cowries. Thus the procession passed us on its way down the grassy glade which led to the Benin City road. The band waited for the procession just where the glade is divided by KOLA trees from the village, while it proceeded to the "juju" place to salute the great father, who in the spirit is still in Benin City, but who, as OVERAMI, the late OBA of Benin, is in reality a prisoner in Old Calabar. On the return of the procession the band joined it, and OG'UGU scattered the cowries right and left to the boys and girls who scrambled for them.

Thus did OG'UGU celebrate the anniversary of the death of his father.

Then he came to greet us as we sat in front of the rest-

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house, and asked us if we would like to see the dances more distinctly, as he was afraid that we had seen very little of them the night before. We thanked him, and said yes.

The first dance, called UGULU or SAKWADI, was danced by one man only. He turned circles, keeping perfect time to the band of beaded calabashes and drums. The second, OKELE, was rather more interesting, as it was danced by two men; one had a fan in his hand, and the other had his hands clasped in front of him. The man with the fan went through certain steps, which the man with the hands clasped had to copy exactly; when he failed another took his place. The third dance was called OHOGO, and was most remarkable. Fifteen men, three with native bells and the rest with beaded calabashes, took part in it. They were scantily dressed, and had bells and rattling seeds round their arms and ankles. A man with a bell (evidently their conductor), with one with a beaded calabash, were surrounded by the other thirteen in a perfect circle. At a signal from their conductor the thirteen, singing in parts, ran round in a circle, while all beat their calabashes and bells; suddenly they stopped, turned towards each other in couples, and saluted each other; at a signal they then started off again, changing their step as it pleased their conductor, who seemed to have perfect control over their movements. Then at a signal all danced inwards towards the centre of the circle, and crowded themselves over their now crouching conductor and his companion. At a beat of his bell all withdrew and continued dancing in a circle. The many and complicated steps, all perfectly accomplished, placed this dance a long way above the general average native dance, and we were more than astonished to find how perfectly trained these dancers were. We were told that in the olden days the slightest error in public in such a dance was punished by death.

On the 2nd August, 1903, the Chief OBASEKI gave a dance, to which he invited the officers then present in Benin City. This dance was given in one of the rooms in the Chief's house. The room was square in shape, the roof sloping inwards towards the centre, which was open, forming something between a Roman pluvium and a Spanish patio,

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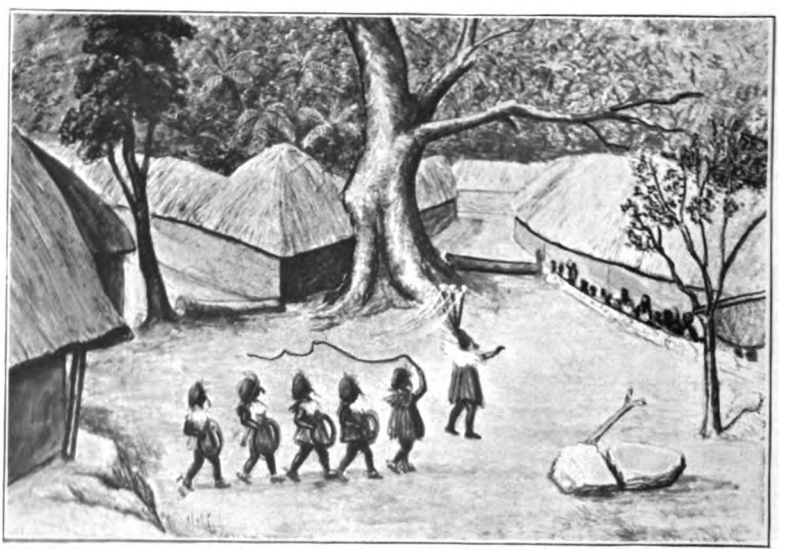
PLATE XIX*a*



The Yoruba quarter, Benin City.

See page 186.

PLATE XIX*b*



The EGUGU with their long whips at OTWAW.

See page 229.

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some 15 or 20 feet square. On two sides were recesses, in one of which the Chief's wives were crowded, and it was on the mud platform in front of this recess where the dancing took place.

Some of the wives played the drums, while others beat the beaded calabashes and sang the choruses to the songs of the different ladies, who from time to time got up and danced and sang. Each lady was evidently famous for some particular song and step, but we preferred one that reminded us rather of one of our own round dances, danced to a song full of her husband's praise.

We had been travelling up hill for some time, and began to wonder when we should arrive at the town of OTWAW, which we were told was just at the top of the hill. At last we reached the outskirts, passing a wall of loose stones, and found that the town, like many of those in this KUKURUKU country, was built in little plateaux at different levels. OTWAW lies nestled in a hollow, just at the top of a very high hill, the grey-coloured thatch and red mud walls of the houses looking well against the dark green woods dotted about with palm trees as a background.

Coming up through a regularly built street, we ascended a kind of platform where the "rest-house" has been built. A stone wall rising up from the street below keeps the earth in this plateau from being washed away by the rains. An old fig tree and an IKHIMI tree grow nearly opposite to the rest-house, and a pole between two other small trees bears a net-like "juju," which the people call OSUMEGBI.

It was on this plateau that the Conservator and I witnessed a very curious dance, called EGUGU (Pl. XIX), which the BINI boys with us said was the same as their OVIA dance. The old Chief informed us that they were about to commence their EGUGU dance (this was on the 19th January, 1904); that it would continue for three days, and recommence for three days in about three months from date.

Just before dark we were amused and astonished by the appearance of a man on the plateau. He was dressed in a huge orange-coloured hat beautifully made of the dyed strips of the palm leaves; in the front running to the centre of the

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crown of the hat was a hair-like fringe of the same material, while a similar kind of fringe stood out like a brim all around it. He wore a mask and mantle of network, which in front was white, but dyed black over the face and shoulders. From the mask near the nose and mouth the network protruded like the trunk of an elephant with a bunch of strips of palm leaves. Hanging from the mantle were numerous strips of palm leaves dyed orange, completely covering the body. His legs and arms were enveloped in black network similar to that of the mask. Round his ankles orange and white fringes of strips of palm leaves covered some negro bells. In his hand he held a whip of plaited palm leaves, some 15 feet long, curled like a hoop.

This curiously draped figure rushed on the plateau in front of us and cracked his whip. The people who were crowding the streets surrounding the plateau howled. Then they followed the masked man down the town, and "horns" were blown.

Shortly four men dressed as above, and five in black masks of much less size, with red and white plaited fringe hanging at the back, rushed up the street, followed by the crowd, and came on to the plateau. They ran away; then they came back, all singing a jerky march, and passed to the upper part of the town. Then they returned, the people crowing like cocks, and some blowing horns. The EGUGU cracked their whips and retired one by one. The crack of the whip was greeted softly or loudly, according to its loudness. The EGUGU came back in pairs, and cracked their whips and retired. The people in the crowd crowed like cocks. At last a differently clad EGUGU came on. This man's mask looked like a huge crown made of laths joined together by strips of palm leaves; each lath carried a tuft of cotton at its extremity, and a long streamer of white fibre. The mask was of black network like those of the others, but the whole mantle was covered with the quills of the porcupine. The fringe-like dress was white and not orange.

This figure made three entrances on to the plateau, and then all the dancers, followed by the crowd, crowing and blowing horns, ran off to their sacred grove, to keep on cracking their whips all night.

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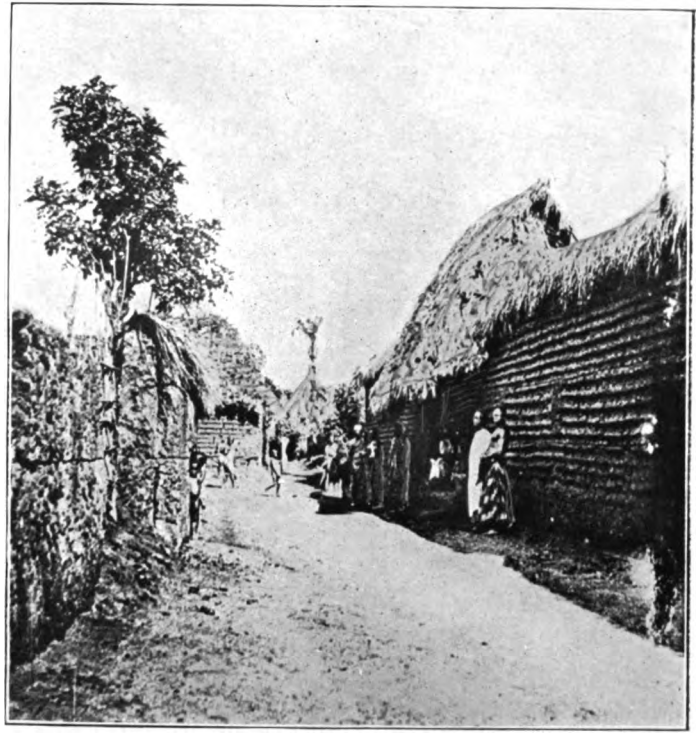
PLATE XX*a*



One of the OVIA dancers.

See page 211.

PLATE XX*b*



A street in Benin City.

See page 186.

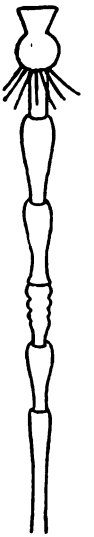
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I had crossed over from the valley of the OGBA river to the GILLY-GILLY road, and having passed through IPAKU and EGBA, had arrived at EGWAHAMI, when my attention was arrested by the sounds of singing and drumming, which I was told were caused by some dancers who had come from UGBENI to give this village health and good luck. So I walked to where they were dancing, and found that the dancers were dressed very much like the EGUGU we had noticed at OTWAW. But the whole band were to dance that evening at UGBENI, and, as we were bound for that place, I left these five strolling players to do what good they could for the people of EGWAHAMI, and proceeded to UGBENI.

UGBENI or EGBENI is a place between Benin City on the road to UGWATON or GWATTO and Gilly-Gilly, and is not far from the place where Consul Philips and his party were so mercilessly massacred by the people of Benin City in 1897.

One of my boys now told me that I should see the OVIA dance, which the boys had played in dancing at ITE, danced as it should be.

It was late in the afternoon on the 27th May, 1904, when the boys placed my chair in the shady side of a square in the town of UGBENI, so that I might witness the OVIA dance. Three men carried UKHURE sticks and placed them near to me against a wall. A boy carried one decorated with a tuft of strips of palm leaves. A crowd of women were to my left, a crowd of men just opposite to me, while children were seated on the far side of the women.



UKHURE sticks found on nearly all altars throughout the country. Great chiefs have as many as six, but generally found in couples or threes.

Certain masters of the ceremonies pushed back the crowd until there was room enough for the dancers in the middle. There were ten dancers, five dressed in one fashion and five in another, and they formed themselves into a circle. Though these dancers were not dressed as extra-

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vagantly as those at OTWAW, yet they were picturesque and curious enough to be worth describing. Five were dressed as follows :—

A huge head-dress, attached to a kind of crown. A triangular wooden framework, covered with red cotton cloth, in the centre of which was a small mirror, while feathers of the hornbill ran up two sides of the triangle and around the top of the crown. A couple of the tail feathers of the parrot were attached to each of the feathers around the crown. The crown itself was of wood, surrounded by bands of gold or silver braid. Two square pieces of glass inserted into the crown gave it the appearance of having eyes. Below this was a mask of network, and over this was hung a *small piece of a consular uniform rich in silver braiding*. Then from the crown long streamers of red cotton cloth were suspended. The cape, or mantle, was of strips of palm leaves, and they had a garment of similar make tied round their waists. Instead of the black, neatly-netted work underwear of the EGUGU, these dancers wore ordinary cotton pants and shirts with long sleeves. Around their legs just below the knee they wore a string of negro bells, while around their ankles they had anklets of dried seeds that rattled.

The five others were dressed like the five just mentioned, save for their head-dress. They had the netted mask and crown and red streamers flowing from it, but the upper part was of light branched woodwork, from the branches of which hung many red parrot feathers in couples.

The dance commenced by the masked men beating their sticks while the women sang, and the men behind the circle walked backwards and forwards, with their shoulders pushed upwards, cooing like birds. Suddenly a couple of the masked figures rushed into the centre of the circle, and stamped the ground violently in front of each other. Then the others ran round in a circle, all their movements in perfect accord to the time they kept beating with their sticks. Then one of these clumsy-looking figures came into the centre of the circle, and commenced that spinning and roundabout motion already described in the dance at ITE, but instead of cannoning against one of the circle, the dancer in this case righted him-

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self in time, and started stamping before one in the circle, who had to stamp back at him.

Many of their songs were sung in parts and were very effective, while the dancing was excellent. No one is supposed to know who these masked people are, and for a whole month they live in the grove sacred to OVIA, and are fed by the public. Any village in the district can send for them to dance there by paying for them, and they say that the dancing brings health to the people.

OTON is the name of the burial dance and song. Those who have lost one of their own house carry an empty box, covered with cloth, mirrors, and beads. They sing OMAWRARI-YOYO, and parade the streets. Sometimes it is some years before this is done: it is then a sign that so-and-so's father has at last been buried, and that the son has now amassed sufficient wealth to succeed to his father's honours.

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CHAPTER XXI

TRACES OF NKICI-ISM AMONG THE BINI

The Week.—The Year.—The Seasons.—The Rivers.—A Temple.—Wells.—Trees.—Omens.—Animals.

THE BINI SEASONS.

THE Bini have now eight days in their week, but the part of jujuism, which I identify with Nkicism, has preserved the more ancient form of four days. The names of the eight days are:

1. ELEOWU for EDEOWU, first day.
2. AKWE.
3. ILAGWE.
4. UNIYIELE.
5. USIELE.
6. DEHAN.
7. EDEYHINELE.
8. DELUMALE.

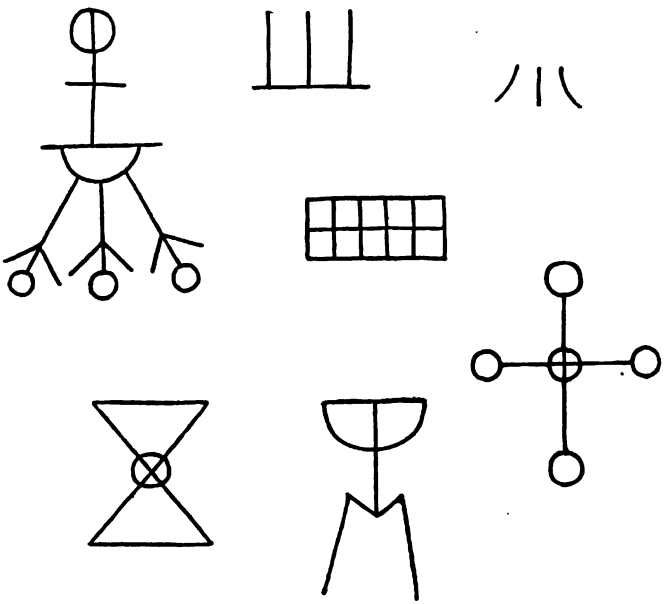
Each of these days is a market day in or quite near to Benin City.[1]

On the 1st day the market is at INYA = EK'INYA.
„ 2nd „ „ IOBA = EKIOBA (Benin City).
„ 3rd „ „ IGO = EKIGO (on the Gilly-Gilly road).
„ 4th „ „ BAREKE = EKEBAREKE (Benin City).

[1] 1. Yam market.
2. King's mother's market.
3. Money or cowrie market.
4. Slave compound market.

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On the fifth day EKINYA is again the market place, and the other three markets follow in the above order to the end of the eight days. But the juju doctor (OBO) renews the chalk marks in front of the ARO, or sacred grove, on the first



Chalk marks found on the ground in front of AKE.

day, EDEKEN, and on the fifth, which is again EDEKEN. The names of these four days are:

1. EDEKEN,[1] spoken of as being IYASE'S day (the king's prime minister and regent).

2. ED'AHO, spoken of as being OSUMA'S day (messenger connected with the king's wants).

3. ED'AWRIE, spoken of as being ESOGBAN'S day (messenger connected with king's gifts).

4. ED'OKWAW, spoken of as being ESAWN'S day (the king's captain or officer).

[1] These are possibly the Big men or great Lords who are always near the king's person. But Mendael speaks of three only. See *Great Benin*, p. 92.

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Their year is divided into four parts, two of four lunar months, one of four, and one joining month, or thirteen lunar months in all, just as among the Bavili.

There are six (or seven, counting the first month) seasons in this year.

The joining month (called MAWALALA in Kongo) is also looked upon as a period or season in itself, and it is the time when the natives plant their yams, and thus represents the month or season of love or spring. It is called IKHURE, and is the time of drizzling rains, just before the rainy season. This month, however, instead of representing the first month at the beginning of the dry season, is in the place of the sixth month of the Bavili.

The next period is EHAW, and includes the seasons IHEDU, two months of which are the tornado months, and IHEMA, two months of heavy rains. EHAW is the custom of giving food to a stranger on his arrival in a town.

The next period is named IGWE, and it includes the seasons IGWE, two months, including the little dry season and heavy rain, and AGWE, one tornado month and one month of rest and quiet. IGWE (or IGBE or IWE = weight also 10) signifies the care and dress of children, and is the season of harvest. It is worthy of note that the Bini connect the idea of weight with harvest.

The period IHEUKU is that which contains the seasons AHISHUKU and IHEUKU, the four months forming their dry season.

It is said that the Bini have no names for their months, and this in a sense is true. But they number them, and so the numbers are really their names. If we wish to know the meanings of the names of their months we must get at the signification of their numerals.

1. Let us begin with the first month of their dry season, when, having reaped their harvest of yams, the people say they "rest and chop." This is the second month in the season AGWE. The word for one is ÒWU, which in the form OWU means death, or, as we might put it, the beginning and end of all things. This agrees with the time and idea contained in the month of MAWALALA in the Kongo.

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2. The next month, the first in the AHISHUKU season, the Bini are busy cutting down woods and forests for the purpose of making their farms. This action they call IFIE.

IFA is literally that which is scraped off and is also the name of the palm nut god of the Yoruba. The verb FA is to clean or scrape off.

The letters F, H, and Y, are interchangeable thus, HA is to scrape, UHE the Bini for IFE, and the Bina palm tree river spirit, taking the place of the Yoruba IFA is OVIA. O is a royal title short for OGIE; IA is the lengthened form of A, so that OVIA is really a lengthened form of IFA.

E as a prefix gives the verb following it a substantive form; thus EFA or EVA would mean a scraping. This idea of scraping off is connected with the idea of creation both in Xivili and Bini. The Bini use the word EVA as the numeral 2; EVA is therefore connected both with the river spirit OVIA and with ideas of creation.

3. The third month the people begin to burn what they can of the felled trees, and this act they call EGBAW.

EGBAW is a state of being cleaned as corn is when its husks are scraped off; so that the idea of scraping is associated with the third month also. Thus we have EHA three opposed to EVA, two both with much the same symbolic meaning. EHA, however, in the word ten and three or thirteen appears as ERA, and ERA means father.

We may then conclude that in EVA and EHA we have given to us the maternal and paternal principles, found under the symbolic names of the second and third months, in XIVILI, *i.e.*, the deep of fresh water and the deep of salt water.

4. During the fourth month they clear the ground, thus getting it ready for planting the yams. This action they term EKWEN; the number four is ENA, and means that which contains the power of spreading.

5. ISAN, or five, means the act of springing. Thus these two months are connected with planting in the earth.

6. During the sixth month the people drive poles (IFIEMA) into the ground near to their yams, so that the yam vines may creep up them. Now the word for six is IHAN, and that

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means the act of being entangled. This is the month of marriage following that of love, the spring.

7. During the next month they keep on putting poles in the ground. The word for seven being (3 + 4) IH'INAW, signifying the act of being entangled and spreading. This is much the same meaning as that of sambuade, or seven, in the Kongo.

8, 9, and 10. Then for three months or so they keep on weeding their plantations, EKBONA NAGWINIMU:

8 = INENE the act of much spreading (conception).
9 = IHINI the act of having fruit (germination).
10 = IGBE the act of being heavy (pregnancy).

11. Six months after planting, or the eleventh month, the yams known as EMAWWE are ready, and 11 is OWARA (*i.e.*, first being or first substance), the second month of pregnancy. Harvest, weight, pregnancy have been also shown to be associated with the tenth and eleventh months of the Bavili.

12. During the twelfth month the IKME yams are ready, and 12, or IWE'YA, might be termed maternal weight or travail.

13. During the thirteenth month the Bini finally harvest the yams called IGULWA. The number 13 is called IWE'RA, or paternal weight, the second month of travail. The meaning conveyed by these numbers 12 and 13 agrees with the Bavili twelfth and thirteenth months.

14. Then comes the month of rest again, which of course might be called the fourteenth month, or IWINA, which gives us the idea of (spreading and travail or) birth, and may be said to be the end of the double figure months.

Thus the meaning of the names of the Bini months correspond to some extent to those of the Bavili months. I cannot however show that then any genetic connection was asserted of the month and seasons of the former. But if up to the present nothing of the sort has been found, it by no means follows that more extensive research will not bring it to light. I append a table of the Bini months, seasons, and divisions of the year.

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Divisions.	*Seasons.*	*Months.*	*Meanings.*
IKHURE	IKHURE	6 = IHAN	= the act of being entangled.
EHAW	IHEDU	7 = IH'INAW	= the act of being entangled and spreading.
		8 = INENE	= the act of much spreading.
	IHEMA	9 = IHINI	= the act of having fruit.
		10 = IGBE	= the act of being heavy.
IGWE	IGWE	11 OWARA	= first substance.
		12 IWE'YA	= the act of being heavy, and mother.
	AGWE	13 IWE'RA	= the act of being heavy, and father.
		1 ÓWU	= one and death.
IHEUKU	AHISHUKU	2 EVA	= that which contains the power of scraping off.
		3 EHA	= " " "
	IHEUKU	4 ENA	= that which contains the power of spreading.
		5 ISAN	= the act of springing.

I now give a few notes on other points of Bini belief and custom.

THE SACRED RIVERS OF BENIN CITY WHICH HAVE SACRED GROVES OR ARO (THUS, OVIA RIVER, SACRED GROVE AROVIA).

OYISA is a river rising to the north of Benin City, near IBEKWE. This word is the general term used for God, and is pronounced ORISHA by the Yoruba people. In the lower reaches its name changes to OKWO.

OKWO is noted for its natural bridge which crosses it on the road from IGWIKO to EMMA at a place called OKOKWO.

While ARUWANA, a son of the King of Benin City, followed by his dog, was crossing this river, his dog fell into the rushing torrent and was lost. He was much grieved, and joined stick to stick until in two hours he touched the bottom, but could not find his dog, so they say he ordered this stone bridge to be built.

OVIA. Ovia is said to have been one of the wives of AWLAWYO, the Alafin of AWYAW. A wife who was jealous of her put a rat and some water into her cloth, and then went and told the Alafin that OVIA had made water in her cloth. AWLAWYO was very cross with her, so she cried and ran away. And when AWLAWYO made inquiries, and found out that he had been deceived, he killed the jealous wife, and asked OVIA to come back to him, but she refused. Then he sent OKWO to bring her back, but she refused to go back,

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and OKWO feared to return without her, so they both became river spirits in the Benin country. The sign of the OVIA is the dress made of strips of palm leaves.

ATO. The river ATO runs into the OVIA, and ATO is a medicine to join broken bones together.

Then the OVIA runs into the OLUKUN.

There is a grove for the children of OVIA called IRIRI.

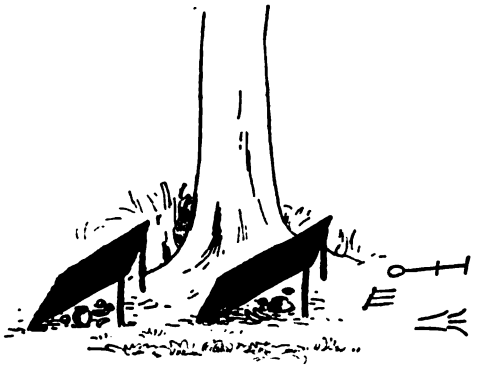
AWRE[1] or IKPOBA is the King's river (and the meaning of the word AWRE is royal self). At its source, which is near to the source of the OYISA, this river is called the ERUBI (*i.e.*, one who bears, applied to animals), and she is said to have had a son called ISE (challenge), who would persist in living with the King. The King finally sent him away to a village on the IFON road called Utekon. Then ISE declared war on the King, and the King went to UTEKON to fight. ERUBI killed 200 men with poisoned FUFU, and ISE killed the rest of the King's followers. The King saved himself by hiding in a kola tree, from whence he howled for help. Then OLUMORIA and others came to the King's rescue, and they killed ISE.

Now, OLUMORIA boasted of this deed, so that the King became very angry and drew his MUSU (sword) and tried to kill him. He tried three times, but failed on each occasion. Then he made a medicine called OKOKOGO (a small red bead worn at the back of the head) and gave it to those he specially honoured, and OLUMORIA asked for it, but for a long time the King refused to give it to him. Finally, however, he did so. This medicine then gave the King power over OLUMORIA, so that he drew his MUSU and killed him. The AWRE runs into the AWREOMO, called also the OSSEOMO.

AWREOMO. The sign of this river is an earthenware pot of water. At its source, not far from the town of OKHI, this river is called AKE, the axe. As a "juju" this power AKE is represented by lumps of earth, ant-hills, bits of pot, stones and chalk, which are covered by a slanting roof of bark called OKUKU. There is a large "juju house" at IDUNGENA, near Benin City. It is a building of sun-dried mud, in the form of a hollow square, with lean-tos from the top of each wall

[1] The sound AW or O in the word corpse is written in Yoruba ō.

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AKE. Pieces of bark supported at one end by two sticks forming a kind of lean-to shed, under which are found a pot of water, bananas, and yams. Generally found at the foot of trees with various chalk marks in front of them. (See other note.)

forming cloisters. Over the doorway a long bamboo, with a basket cup-like arrangement at the top, hangs like a barber's pole. This has been called OYISA, ESU, and UKHURE by different people I have asked to name it.

As you enter you notice the figure of a man without legs (OKE), the door-keeper; then, turning to the left, you will see a figure in clay dressed in chain armour as in the days of Elizabeth, riding on a horse. He is called OKAKWU or an officer. Passing along the left wall we find a figure dressed as a prime minister, or IYASE. Then in the open space in the centre of the square there are two figures, one on your right and one on your left as you stand with your back to the door and facing AKE. The one on your left represents OYISA (god), and that on your right ESU, the devil. ESU is dressed as a slave in a hat and cloth, carrying a knife at his waist, and a stick or staff called UKPOPO in his



OYISA. A long bamboo pole with a wicker basket at the top.

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right. OYISA, on the other hand, is dressed like a king. We now stand before the throne of AKE, who, dressed like a king, is seated with a wife (IREBU) with her babe on either side of him. A girl stands in front of them with a fan (OKWIKE). In front of all these figures are the figures of two naked boys (AMADA), while to the right and left are seen the figures of the two NABORI or hand-bearers. Then opposite to the figure of IYASE on the right hand side of the square there are the figures of a blacksmith, OGUN, in his shop and his assistant blowing the bellows, and between IYASE and OGUN in the open space the sacred tree IKHIMI is growing, and they call this INYATU.

A woman wanting a child goes to AKE and presents him with a fowl, and promises him more if she bears one. A man who has lost something goes to AKE and lays his complaint before him, asking him to kill the thief. If AKE does this all the petitioner's trade goes in future to AKE.

The dance sacred to AKE is called UKELE, and is held at the beginning of the rainy season. OKHI is the name of the middle course of the OREOMO, and means the difficulty in cutting.

The AKWIHAMA is a river running into the AWREOMO, and means the difficulty of woman in travail.

OKWAIHE is another river running into the AWREOMO, and the word means the difficulty of bearing a load. The people of this river may not marry those of the river IKHUKU. OKUMA, another tributary of this river, means continued death or the practice of dying.

The AWREOMO joins the OLUKUN at the same place as the OVIA.

The OYISA, OVIA, AWRE or AWREOMO are the four rivers that enclose the centre province of the Benin Kingdom in which Benin city is situated.

OLUKUN is the Great Benin river forming the southern boundary of the Kingdom of Benin. It is marked in the maps as the Benin and Ethiope rivers. The meaning of the word OLUKUN is either the chief of death or the Teacher. Its sign is a pot of water. Every great house has an altar to OLUKUN in or near to which will be found a pot of water, a fringe of small leaves tied in knots called EBAIHE, stones in small earthenware pot IKPEBBO, chalk cones ORHUE, the

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sticks UKHURE, cowries, IGO, mats EWA, fishbones, the tail feather of the parrot EBAKWE, representations of the snake IKMWI and the leopard OGIAME and the skulls of cows, dogs and goats.

At EWESI not far from the SOBO plains, as in most towns, there is a temple to OLUKUN where chalk is given to the people as a protection against evil. The people put it round their eyes like the ZINGANGA south, and also mark their bodies with it.

At the door of this temple, a kind of square courtyard with cloisters round it, two figures are seated on guard.

On the door figures of two snakes IKPI, OBIANIMI, a bird, a crocodile, a small boy and a house are carved. There is an altar just inside the porch to ESU the devil as the Yorubas say ESU KÓ NI ÍWA AKO ILE RÈ SI ITA. As the devil has no kindliness of disposition his house is made for him in the street.

On your right, that is on OLUKUN'S left, there are figures of the son of OLUKUN with a nude wife on either side, a boy seated and holding a Kola box and a bottle of water. Strewn about are shells, chalk, a knife and a bell, while in front of all rises the bamboo pole with its end split and pushed out cup shape here called 'SA or OYISA.

Next we come to a figure of OLUKUN'S IYASE who is wearing the ODIGBA and frontlet UDEHĀI, collar, armlets and bracelets.

Then opposite to the door at the end of the building we see a great figure of OLUKUN the teacher dressed as a king and figures of his two Nabori (arm upholders) and four naked boys or AMADA.

An old priest sits at the feet of this figure near to an altar, half hidden by the long strings of cowries hanging in front of him from the roof.

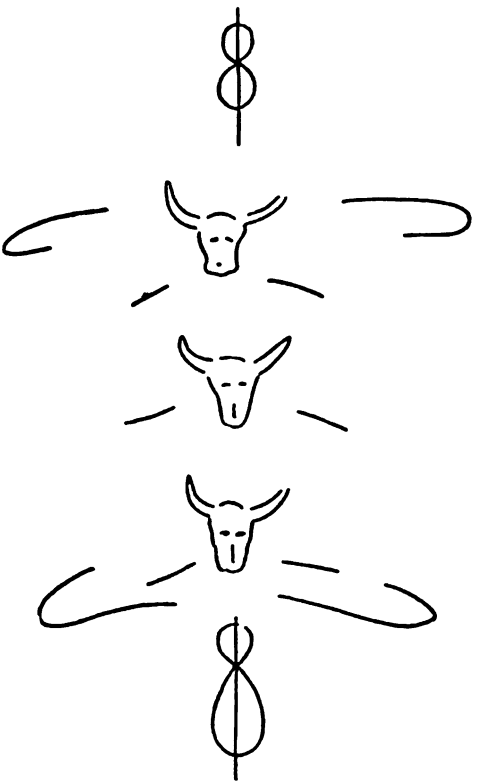
While I was there a man and two women came into this temple and going up to OLUKUN, knelt down and bowed their heads until they touched the step on which rested the feet of OLUKUN. The priest crushed some chalk and handed some of it to each petitioner, then they marked themselves and went out. On either side of these great central figures are two sons of OBIANIMI very old wooden figures (like those

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into which nails are driven in the Congo) covered with cowries, bits of cloth, knives, etc., and near to one of these is the figure of a leopard and to the other the skull of a cow and the shell of a tortoise.

On the right in a cloister are the figures of the OLUKUN'S great war chief EZOMO (or OJUMO) wearing his ODIGBA and four necklaces, and his bugler. And near to the door again are the figures of EKIOLUKUN the grandson of OLUKUN wearing four necklaces, and his wife and AMADA.

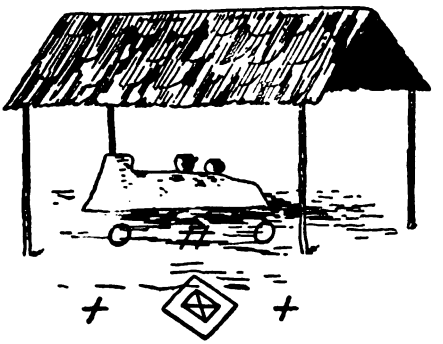
In the centre of the open space in this temple were three cow's heads surrounded by chalk marks.



At IGO a town on the Gilly Gilly road there is a mound on which is an altar to OLUKUN with chalk cones and cowries on it all covered by a shed. They say that EHAIZAĀI, King

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of Benin, because it was unhappy in Benin City, sent it to IGO. They say they knew it was unhappy because of the sickness



An altar to OLUKUN, under a little shed, with native pots on it. Chalk marks, as above, being made on the ground in front of it.

it caused in the City. At UGWATON there is also a temple to this great spirit, or power, mentioned by Burton.[1]

OLUKUN is said to have been one of the sons of God who married OHA.

OHA is the river running from the town of OKHA past SILUKU into the Benin river, and forms the western and northern boundary of the Benin Kingdom dividing it from the intermediate province of ELAWWEY which is a kind of neutral province between the Benin and Yoruba Kingdoms.

OHA drank AINYO and hiccoughed which vexed OLUKUN so she ran away from him. OLUKUN cried. This was when OLUKUN was very poor. Then OLUKUN married IGBAGON (the Jamieson river). Then OHA wished to return and prayed OLUKUN to forgive her. He was rich now, so he forgave her and said she might come back, but as the wood bearer to IGBAGON.[2] The meaning of the word OHA is fear, the bruiser.

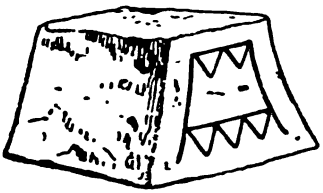
The river ALEDE runs into the OHA, and means the language of the concubine, while ALA is the white cloth, the

[1] Describing the temple sacred to OLUKUN, Burton says there is a figure of the king, &c. See *Great Benin*, p. 57. This is wrong; the figure represents OLUKUN *dressed as a king*. MALAKU = OMA OLUKUN.

[2] IGBAGON = the Admittance of Poison.

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abomination of the Gods. (It is a remarkable fact that while the *slave* tribe called the MUSSERONGO or BACILONGO, just



A seat made of clay.

north of the Congo were only allowed to wear white, in Benin City only the Chiefs may do so.)

Cows are sacrificed to OVIA, OLUKUN.

Dogs to OVIA and AWRE.

Goats to AWREOMO, OKWHĀĪHE, OGBA, AKE, IGBAGON ALEDE, OKUMA, AKWIAMA, AKKWA, OGBEHE, OKWO.

Altars in Houses are found to OVIA, OLUKUN, OKWHĀĪHE, AKE, IGBAGON, OKUMA, AKWIAMA.

Women may not eat the flesh of the thing sacrificed to OVIA, OKWHĀĪHE, OGBA, OGBEHE, OKWO.

These sacred rivers are known by the name EBAMI, and the word EBAW means sacrifice. I should say that the meaning of EBAMI is a " power " to which things are sacrificed.

OTHER GROVES NOT SACRED TO THE RIVER SPIRIT.

AROVATO is situated near to Geduma.

In this Grove there are always some logs of wood (OBEKE).

ARO ERRHĒĪN at ERUWA near Geduma.

ARO OGUN (blacksmith) Iron stones are placed in this Grove, and Goats are sacrificed.

ARO ERUMIA near AHO on the IKPOBA road.

There are sticks (UKHURE) there. It is also a household altar.

Its dancers dress like those of OVIA at the beginning of the dry season.

Women may not eat the flesh sacrificed.

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ARO OWO or OBO at UZALA on the IKPOBA road.
UKHURE are there.
Dancers wear masks surmounted with the feathers of the fowl.
Women may not eat the flesh sacrificed.

CERTAIN ANIMALS HAVE GROVES SACRED TO THEM.

AROEKME in Benin City, near to the chief OBASEKI's old house, is sacred to the Leopard.
AROENIMI to the Elephant.
AROGWUNAME to the Hippopotamus.

I could get no information from the Bini about Groves sacred to the Winds.

The presence of an ODIGI, or sacred well, is generally made known along the roads to one by a tree and a mound of earth and cowries.

Human sacrifices were made to the following three in OBA OVERAMI'S time :—

ODIGI NO'R'UDO on the UDO road.
ODIGI NOBA on the IFON road.
ODIGI NIRIWE on the GEDUMA road.

There is a story that two women, a maiden and a pregnant woman went down to the UDO well for water. The pregnant woman, against the advice of the maiden, drank some of the water, and in consequence had a miscarriage.

As far as my observations have taken me, there are only six sacred trees, though parts of many others enter into medicines and form part of dresses, etc.

OLOKU (OROKO) Chlorofera Excelsa. This tree is found in OVIA'S sacred grove. It is also a sign marking the place where the king had his harem.

The IKHIMI, one of the Bignoniaceæ (possibly the Spathodea Campanulata), the UNWETIOTA and the OTWA are

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always growing close to the fences guarding the entrance to the grove.

OME. The palm tree, from the leaves of which the dresses used by the dancers of the OBUDU are made.

EBE. The kola. There are rows of kola trees at the entrance to all towns, varying from two miles to a few yards in length. War between two towns of people in the olden days was frequent, but peace could always be made provided that no kola trees had been cut down. Kola nuts as a welcome would never be given to anyone who had destroyed a kola tree in another village. The Yoruba have a saying, as the grubs eating the IWO and the grubs eating the OBI (kola) lodge within the IWO and the OBI nut, so he that betrays you is not far from your person.

OMENS

1. A falling star foretells the death of a prince.
2. When the owl OKUKU says OKURUKURU it is well, but when it cries U U U that is a bad sign.
3. When the bird AHIAMINUKYUYA cries OYIOWO it is a bad sign, but when it sings OMGWOGWO it is well.
4. When one goes to see something and the eyelid quivers all is well, but should the under part of the eye quiver then it is bad.
5. When the right shoulder throbs all is well, but when the left one throbs it is not well.
6. If on starting on a journey you strike the right foot it is a bad sign, but if you strike your left foot, no matter.

SACRED ANIMALS.

Only three animals, as far as my observations go, have sacred groves (*i.e.*, the Leopard, the Elephant, and the Hippopotamus), but I have found the heads and bones of four kinds of antelope, the dog, the crocodile, the cow, and the shell of the tortoise, in or near their altars.

The leopard is known by the names ATALAGBA, OGYUHA, EKME, and OGIAME or queen.

OGIAME reminds me of the XIVILI word KAMA, royal

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wife or queen. OGIE-CI is the word the Bini use for the King indigenous to the country, equivalent to NKICI CI of the BAVILI.

When a man killed a leopard he had to take it to the OBA, who gave the hunter a boy and a girl in exchange for it. The OBA used to try very hard to obtain the leopard alive, so that he might sacrifice it. On doing so he would put his finger into its blood and make a mark with it on his forehead, from his hair to his nose. Fans for his use were made of the leopard's skin, or it was made into a coat for the great war chief EZOMO or OJUMO. The claws also were strung together and worn by this chief as a band around his head.

Women were not allowed to look at the leopard's face.

The dance connected with the leopard ceremonies is called IGWE.

The Elephant ENI.—When a chief's father dies, an elephant's tusks are placed on the altar in the grove called ARUENIMI. The head and gun by which the elephant is shot are placed in the sacred ground called EFAĪ, and the dance in connection with this ceremony is called IKWEFAĪ.

When a hunter killed an elephant he had to give the OBA one foot and the tusks.

The strip of meat round the kidneys was given to the OBA'S mother.

One of the forelegs had to be given to the village owner of the country where it was killed.

The rest and the tail belonged to the hunter, and its hairs were sold to the women for necklaces.

The Hippopotamus OGWUNAME.—I have heard little or nothing about the Hippopotamus, save that his sacred ground is OKWHAIYE and his grove AROGWUNAME. There are plenty of hippos. in the upper OVIA or OSSE, but the people seem to fear them, and on asking the people about that part of the country why they did not kill them, they said it was no use doing so, as they did not eat them.

The Tortoise IGWI.—The sacred ground where the shell of the tortoise is found is called OTOI.

The people dance IGWI once a year just as the rains cease.

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The character of the IGWI is a bad one; it is looked upon as a deceiver.

There is a story that says one day IGWI was a person, and all animals spoke one language. There was a famine in the land. A meeting was called, and it was decided that all should bring in their mothers. The elephant brought in his mother. They killed and eat her. And each day an animal brought in its mother. They always gave some of the meat to the parrot (OKWE), most of which it preserved. And when each animal had killed its mother they told the parrot to go and fetch his. But he had hidden his mother away in a hole where she kept a rope. As he refused to bring in his mother all the animals set about to look for her, but they could not find her. Then the IGWI watched the parrot, and found the mother's hiding place. And he told all the other animals. And when they all knew where the mother parrot was to be found they held a meeting to decide upon some plan of getting her. Finally, they asked the parrot to go on an errand for them to a distant part. And he went. But he returned quickly to the court house and found no one there. Guided by the IGWI they had gone to find his mother. And when they were near the hole where the mother parrot was hidden the elephant sang a song, thinking that the mother would take his voice for that of her son. But the mother parrot was not so taken in. Then the IGWI sang, and the mother parrot was deceived and put out the rope for him. All the animals then seized hold of the rope. But just then the son parrot came along and sang to his mother, telling her to cut the rope, and this is how he sang :—

IYEMAO IYEMALO, IYEMAO IYEMALO	O Mother Mother, O Mother Mother
OFIFIEGE FWAO	Cut the rope,
NENI DEGBEGWIO IYEMALO	Let the elephant fall, Mother,
NEGWI PIEPIAW IYEMALO	And crush the tortoise, Mother.

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XINA OF THE BAVILI ARE SPOKEN OF AS AWA OR AGWA BY THE BINI.

It is AGWA for a man to marry any of his EGBE and by EGBE they include

OBIRAMI	children	of one	father.
OBIYIMI	„	„	mother.
OBIYIYIMI	„	„	grandmother.
OBIRERAMI	„	„	grandfather.

IGODARO says that he may not marry any woman who lifts drink up with her left hand, and who, when she cooks, kneels only on one knee.

OKUNDIA says he may not "eat" (or marry) snake and the antelope ERUHE on his father's side, and OSURUHE on his mother's side.

AJARRI may not "eat" IHIHIHI, a small fruit on his mother's side, and ERHURU yam, and EBAKWE a leaf on his father's side.

JEGEDI may not eat OSURUHE on his father's side.

OKUKU may not eat monkey on his father's side, nor elephant and antelope EHAN on his mother's side.

But the Bini do not respect their AWA as the BAVILI do their XINA.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE PHILOSOPHY AT THE BACK OF THE BLACK MAN'S MIND IN TABLE FORM

ON page 169 of *Great Benin* you will find a photograph taken by Mr. C. Punch in March 1892, of a Bini house in course of construction.

In this picture we find that a certain figure is built into the fluted wall, it is coloured white and shows up well against the dark red clay of which the wall is constructed (Pl. XXI).

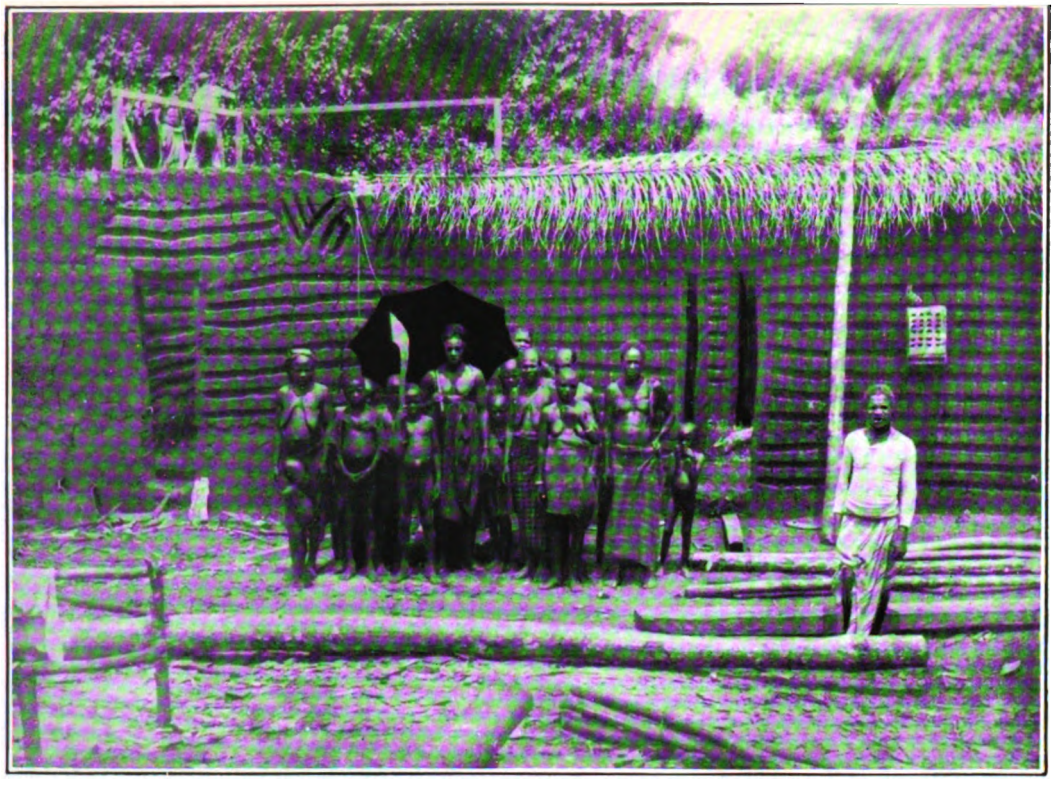
This figure is of the greatest interest and may be said to be the " formula " at the back of the black man's mind both north and south of the equator on the West coast of Africa, six of which apparently form the complete religious system of both the Yoruba and the Bavili or Luango people. It is used as a divining board or a tally of the seasons indiscriminately.

Resting on the top of the figure you will find a bird, meant to represent the IFE, a kind of wagtail, to whom the people of Luango attribute the origin of the drum. IFE is the spiritual capital of the Yoruba, and IFA is their great oracular deity. Now IFA means that which is stripped off, and the verb to strip off means also to create.[1] IFA as a God or part of God would and does represent what we should call the Son of God.

Immediately beneath this bird is the formula formed first of 16 marks or holes in four parallel lines, and secondly of eight

[1] Exactly the same idea exists among the Bavili where the word XIVANGA creator is derived from VANGA to create, which literally means to keep on tripping off.

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A house in construction, showing the "formula" on the wall.
By permission of H. Ling Roth, Esq.

See page 232.

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ditto in two parallel lines, that is 24 marks or holes in all. You will notice that there is a distinct gap between the first four and the second two lines.

Let us suppose this figure on the wall to represent the divining board, then the first 16 marks represent the 16 sacred palm kernels which the BABALAWOS use in consulting IFA on their Sunday. But Ifa is always attended by his offspring OPẸLE, the other great oracular God of the Yoruba whom the diviners consult every day. Now the literal translation of the word ÒPẸLẸ is the one who endures and replenishes.

Thus you will see that the Yoruba may be said to divide the "formula" into two great parts, first, 16 divine principles under four great headings, IBARA, EDI, OYEKUN, and OGBE, and second, eight natural parts under two great headings the names of which I have not been able to ascertain.

Separated from the above but underneath is a strong line drawn from side to side, representing man the diviner.

That is a formula of 24 parts between first cause and final effect—a formula preserved to the Bavili in the making up of their shrouds, in their families of Bakici baci, and in their six seasons, as well as in the titles of their King, his 12 assessors and their six offices, and to the Bini at least in their political constitution, as well as their system of divination.

That this formula should exist not only among the Bavili but also among the Bini and Yoruba adds great importance and weight to my conviction that it in reality is the formula (six of which go to complete the philosophy) which has so long been lying hid at the back of the black man's mind.

Difficult, perhaps impossible, as it may be to convince others of this (to me) great truth, I feel that I have been justified in making the attempt. At any rate, no harm will be done to whatever value may be attached to the foregoing notes, as no one need agree with these conclusions unless they like.

On the other hand I cannot help feeling that one who has lived so long among the Africans, and who has acquired a kind of way of thinking black, should be listened to on the off chance that a secondary instinct developed by long contact

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with the people he is writing about, may have driven him to a right, or very nearly right, conclusion.

It seems to the writer that the complete philosophy was once given and taught to the people by means of symbols, and that 201 sacred groves were set apart as the places where the lessons in connection with this philosophy were taught.

This is backed up by the following story a certain Babalawo[1] told me: EWARE, he said, was a son of the sixth king of Benin, and when his father died he wished to succeed to the throne. The people, however, would not have him, and drove him into the bush. After 201 years he returned to Benin city with 201 followers. He and his followers were like men but were not really men, they were EBAMI (powers in rivers and sacred groves)—EWARE then taught the Bini people the foundation of their present religion. But the people said that there were too many EBAMI and set about thinking how their number could be diminished. They built a fine house or temple and invited them all to a feast there, gave them plenty to eat and drink, and when they were nearly drunk fastened the doors and burned the house down. Many of the EBAMI escaped and entered the different rivers and became river spirits, etc.

EWARE also was much troubled about the fact that he had to die, so he sent a messenger to OYISA (= God) to ask him to come to Benin city and talk the matter over. God came down and landed at Agbor (a place to the east of Benin city), and asked if that were Benin city. They told him no, and directed him *via* Oza and Ugo to the city, so that at length he arrived and had a meeting with EWARE, when it was finally decided that every man must die. ESHU (the devil) is said to have accompanied OYISA bearing a knife.

This would bring the introduction of the present Bini religion to the fourteenth century, or about 400 years after the founding of the kingdom of Bini by the son of the Alafin of AWYAW the great Yoruba king.

This religion has taken such a vigorous root in the country

[1] BABALAWO = a Bini priest. See Appendix.

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that it is now very difficult to find any trace of the older form of religion that must have been in existence among the EFA or people of this country before the coming of EWARE, or even the first Yoruba OBA. Interesting as the study of this superimposed religion may be among the Bini we are not likely, upon their own showing, to find it in so perfect a form as among the Yoruba. It is to IFE, the spiritual capital of the Yoruba country, that we must go if we are to rebuild up and reform this religion, which is, of course, now degenerated into a kind of mythology.

But there is one great lesson that we have learnt from this story of the Bini, and that is that the completed religion is ruled by 201 EBAMI.

It is interesting to know that before the destruction of the OBA'S palace each of these 201 EBAMI had a bronze plate representing it on the walls of the great 1oom as a record, but it is exasperating to think that in its destruction our chance of obtaining all the names by which they were known has gone. It will now take years of patient note-taking to collect them once again. No native that I have so far come across can give me more than a few of their names, just the most prominent ones, and just sufficient to let us know that they referred to sacred rivers, lands, trees, animals, omens, and the seasons.

We have noted that both the Bini and Bavili in the first place recognise God under the names OYISA and NZAMBI.

They then recognise that there are two great divisions among things and people. Those created which they connect with God (OYISA) and those procreated which they connect with the Devil (ESHU) as far as the Bini are concerned, and BANTU NZAMBI and BANTUA NDONGO so far as the Bavili are concerned. Things of the spirit and things of the body as we should say.

Then we note that they divide things of the spirit into three parts, and things of the body into three parts or six parts in all.

Then we have twenty-four powers representing the winds etc., as causative attributes under these two great headings.

After which we have the six formulæ each of twenty-four

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powers which makes one hundred and forty-four parts in all, *i.e.*, seventy-two parts under the spiritual heading and seventy-two parts under the procreating heading.

And finally we have the twenty-four parts which are the results of the foregoing creative and procreative parts.

In short there are two hundred and one parts in their philosophy which all must bear in mind.

It is possible that in the foregoing notes some error in detail may have crept in, but I feel that I have given data enough to be enabled to give you the formulæ in full, at any rate in table form in such a way as to make this philosophy which is at the back of the black man's mind, fairly clear.

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CHAPTER XXIII

CONCLUSION

IT is said that the earliest traditions represent rulers as Gods or demigods.

In times and among races less barbarous we find these beliefs a little modified, the monarch is conceived to be a man having divine authority. He retains, however, as in the East to the present day titles representing his heavenly descent.

Later on the progress of civilisation, as during the middle ages in Europe, the current opinions respecting the relationship of rulers and ruled are further changed, for the theory of divine origin is substituted that of divine right.

With advancing political opinion have come still greater restrictions of imperial power.

The writer does not think that the eternal and everlasting principles founded on man's senses and the seasons and retained in the titles of Maluango and other kings have by any means passed away.

Although we do not talk of our most gracious King by seven titles he is certainly represented by six great dignities in the six offices of state which King Alfred like King Maluango may have managed in person.

It is this wide gap, between European constitutions and their developments and the constitutions as we find them in Africa—and their developments—that blinds most people to a proper valuation of the latter and makes the government of the Africans by the former so great a puzzle.

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It needs but a glance at the following lists for us to be convinced of the psychic unity of mankind, and that in the art of ruling man this must be accepted as a working hypothesis inductively established.

I must now conclude hoping that these notes may be of service both to the intelligent black man anxious to remind his people of their greater past and to encourage them once more to search after higher things, and to the white man who for want of information has been inclined to undervalue the material he is expected to understand and I am sure hopes to guide or mould in the right way.

Both in the case of the white and black man environment has done its fatal work, it is therefore as foolish for the white man at the present juncture to impose many of his laws and customs upon the black man living in the tropics as it would evidently be for the black man to impose his upon the white man. It is, of course, easy to say that we should act up to the ideals set before us by great philosophers and be superior to our environment; but as a matter of fact we are not, and while in Africa we find the ruins of what were once great kingdoms wanting in strength to maintain themselves for any length of time free from the gravest internal disorders and so degenerating into a series of enclosed despotisms which in anything beyond the management of village affairs do not contain the principle of representation by the people—so, on the other hand, in Europe democracy has become too powerful, and the people, fast losing sight of the great fundamental truths at the base of all good government, look upon licence as liberty and attack or attempt to disestablish any one of the six great estates which endeavours to curb their so-called liberty.

It is here that the full beauty and use of the kingly office becomes apparent, for the king at least should be placed by the people above environment and so enabled to hold himself and the six great principles of government well in hand.

Insects recognise this great truth, why should not man?

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British Constitution.

The King (inspired) in the place of God.

Lord Chancellor.	Arbitrator. Executor.	Court of Equity.
Lord Chief Justice.	Judge. Police.	Court of Justice.
Archbishop of Canterbury.	Atoning priests. Preachers.	Church.
Edward VII.	Doctors. Teachers.	State.
Prime Minister, or, The Speaker.	Members. Ministers.	House of Commons.
The Lord Chancellor.	Lords. Nobles.	House of Lords.

The King (as man) in three parts.

The King of the Bavili and his Constitution.

NTAWTELA.

FUMU.	LUEMBUNGU. MANKAKA.	NGANGA	MPUNZI.
NTINU LUKENE.	INJIBUNGU. MAXIENJI.	,,	NKASA.
NGANGAVUMBA.	KONGOBUNGU. MAFUKA.	,,	BILUNGO KUTECI.
XIVANJI.	TATA BUNGU. MAMBOMA.	,,	MBUMBA.
MUENE.	MABUNDU. MASAFI.	,,	BUNDU.
NKICI CI.	MAMATA. MAMBUKU.	,,	BAKICI.

MALUANGO.

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The King of the Bini and his Constitution.

IOBA.

(King's titles.)	(Assessors.)	(Offices.)
OBADUDUDU.	UNWAGWE. ELIBO.	IWEBO.
ENONYAGBON.	OKÃIBOGA. OKÃIWAGGA.	ABIOGBE.
AGBAGE LOGI'OLUKUN.	IHAMA. SIGHURE.	IHOGBWI.
OGIE NO GBOMA.	IGWESIBO. OGIEMESE.	IWASE.
AKPOLPOLO.	ISIRI. BAZILU.	IWEGWE.
ELIMIDU.	INE (Yamo). OBAZWÃIYI.	IBIWE.

OBA.

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APPENDIX

Extracts from *Yoruba Heathenism*, by the Right Rev. Bishop JAMES JOHNSON, and *Astrological Geomancy in Africa*, by Professor J. A. ABAYOMI COLE.

Yoruba Heathenism, by the Right Rev. Bishop James Johnson, is so intensely interesting that when once you begin to quote from it it is very difficult to leave off doing so. The work was written some years ago, which may account for its title which I am sure my friend the Bishop would now call by some other name. A native of Africa, Bishop Johnson stands out not merely as a learned and earnest divine, but as a patriotic African anxious to instil into his fellow countrymen true nobility and independence of spirit and character. It has been my privilege to have discussed with him on many occasions some of the religious problems now troubling the mind of the educated African, who is beginning to be conscious of the higher teaching in his own mythology. I take this opportunity to thank the Bishop for having placed this work at my disposal and allowing me to quote so liberally from it.

The Divine Being.

God is commonly called "ỌLỌRUN," a contracted form of "Ẹniti-o-ni-ọrun," "the Owner of the Heavens"; or of "Olu-ọrun," the Chief in the Heavens; or "Ọrun," the heavens, which is an abbreviated form of Ọlọrun, and is intended to imply both heaven and earth together, which are sometimes spoken of together as the Universe. "ALAIYE," a contracted form of "Eniti-o-ni-aiye," "the Owner of the Earth," or of "OLUWA-AIYE," "the Master of the Earth," the term "Aiye" being understood to include both

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the earth and the heavens together; "OLODÙMÀRÈ," which some interpret to mean The Chief, or The King who is the Son of "ERÈ," and some regard as representing THE "EVER RIGHTEOUS ONE," and some "*God the Almighty*"; and "*Olōni*," a contracted form of "*Oluwa ini*," the Owner of all our possessions, and other like names, many of which are commonly applied to inferior and subordinate Deities, as was the case with some of the ancient nations, as, for instance, the Greeks and the Romans.

Man, both from his inability to fully grasp the Infinite and for his own convenience, has been wont to represent this Being to himself by some attribute of His that impresses him more forcibly than others, or, through some special blessing from Him to which he attaches unexceptional value, and sometimes to content himself with transferring to Him a name he had applied before to some subordinate deity. Thus the Greeks like other Aryan races speak of Him as "*Zeus*" or "*Jupiter*," "The God of light," or the "God of heaven," and "*Theos*," the "Being who has made and arranged all things"; the Jews speak of Him amongst other names as "The Mighty One"; the English still apply to Him the Saxon name "*God*," "a graven image," which they had before their conversion to Christianity applied to an inferior deity; and the Yorubans speak of Him as "*Ọlọrun*," "*the Owner of the Heavens*," or, "*The Chief One in, or, The King of the Heavens.*"

The number of Yoruba gods commonly reckoned is 401, but it is strictly more correct to say that the number is 600, arranged generally under two divisions, 200, as the Babalawos would say, placed on the right-hand side, and 400 on the left-hand side. But the gods more commonly worshipped are Ifa, Òdùdúwà, Ọbàtala and Ọbànla his wife, Ọṣun, Ogún, Yemaja, Bùrùkū, Ọbalufọn, Orișa-oko, and Ṣọpọnnọ, Sango and Obàtálá.

[1] These Deities are generally known among us as "*Orishas*," a term which, after the religious tradition of the country, was originally applied to some being whom Ifa, or Ọrúnmìlà, the Son of God, had sent out with others to search about for and collect together the wisdom which he had strewn about, and who were successful in their search and collection whilst others failed, and who were then spoken of as "*Awọn ti o ri ṣà*," *i.e.*, those who were successful in making their collection, and who after, and in consequence of this, became objects of worship. But others have represented the term "*Orisha*" as derived from the circumstance of a serious difference on a

[1] Compare the BAKICI BACI of the Bavili and the EBAMI of the Bini.

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particular occasion between two friends named Arín and Ọgbà, a difference in which some elders interfered, over a potsherd, "*Ìshà*," which the one had made a present of to the other, but a return of which the giver afterwards from envy demanded, and which after its return was accounted sacred and became an object of worship; and they say that from this every other object of worship has been called an "*Orisha*" (Ori-isha), in allusion to the potsherd over which there had been a severe difference.

Ṣango, the god of the atmosphere; Àràmifẹ, the god of fire; Aje, the god of trade; Obalufọ̀n, the god of a prosperous empire; Korikoto and Okè, gods of child-birth; the gods of the sea, Yemọja, Okun or Olokun, and Ọṣun; the god of war, and the goddess of hunting (Ogún and Oràmiyàn, Ọṣọ̀sì and Ujá his wife, Ọbalogun and Akipò his wife, and Ikuligbogbó); the god of agriculture, Ogún; the gods of prophecy and song, Ifa and Erinlẹ̀; the god of eloquence, Ọbatala; the god of love and beauty, Olokun; the god of wisdom, Olokun; and the deities of the hearth fire, the Ẽgun, or spirits of deceased ancestors.

Some of the Yoruba Divinities have been borrowed from other tribes.

Ṣango, from the Niger territory; Ekó-Ifá, from the Akoko tribe; and Aje, from the Égùn or Popo tribe.

Yorubans, whose heathen and idolatrous worship is a recurring festival at which a particular divinity is worshipped, have from this circumstance often denominated a day in every cycle of five days from the name of the deity to whose worship it is devoted, *e.g.*, thus we find one day named Ọjọ Jakuta, *i.e.*, the day when Jakuta or Shango[1] is worshipped; Ọjọ Ọbàtàlá, *i.e.*, the day when Ọbàtàlá is worshipped; Ọjọ Ifa, *i.e.*, the day when Ifa is worshipped, or when he sits on a throne like a king; Ọjọ Abamẹta, *i.e.*, the Abamẹta day; and Ọjọ Yemaja, which is Ọjọ Oro as well, when both Yemaja and deceased ancestors' spirits are worshipped.

The Yorubans bury their dead in their houses, and believe in them, in their power after death, and in their interest in their surviving friends; this is the family Õrò and Ẽgún worship, *i.e.*, the worship at some fixed place in a house of the spirits of deceased ancestors, male and female, by surviving members of a family of which they had been a visible part, the fixed place being commonly marked by coloured designs on a wall of the house

[1] Shango is an imported "power," see the days of the week of the Bavili and Bini, pages 64 and 214.

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or on the floor, and called "*Ojubọ-Baba*," or "*Oju-Ègun, Baba*," *i.e.*, the spot specially assigned to the worship of the spirits of our deceased ancestors, and to which has been added the worship of such spirits as *Èṣù*, the devil, whose image is often placed on the left-hand side of the entrance into a premises; *Èṣù*, whose own is often in the piazza; whilst Ifá or Ọ̀rúnmìlà's ỌRỌ̀, which consists of 32 sacred palm nuts in a bowl, is generally placed at the sleeping apartment of the head of the house, and on an elevation raised above that occupied by the images of other orishas kept in the house to mark his superior importance.

Yorubans, like many other African tribes, make use of groves which they regard as sacred to some of their gods, and consecrated for worship to them in connection with their idolatry, and which they sometimes designate as "*Igbòrò*," *i.e.*, groves sacred to the spirits of our ancestors—"*Igbo Ẹlukụ*," "*Igbo Ògún*," "*Igbo Agẹmọ*," "*Igbo Egun*," or "*Ìgbàlẹ Ẹgun*" or "*Ọpa*," "*Igbo Ọṣọnyin*," "*Igbo Oluwa-Ọlọ́fin*," or "*Igbo Oluwa Àràmifẹ*."

The practice of appropriating individual trees to purposes of devotion is indulged in by many African tribes, including the Yorubans.

The Palm tree, the Cotton tree, the Iroko tree, the Akoko tree, and the Ekika, whose leaves are commonly employed fresh on occasions of installation to the position and rank of a sovereign, and to the office of a priest of high rank, and the Omiyọlọ tree, the Ipòrogún and the Atori shrubs are among others accounted sacred trees and shrubs in Yoruba.

The Palm tree, on occasions of both private and public festivities connected with religious worship. Its branches are commonly employed to decorate places and objects of worship, both as a mark of reverential regard and adoration and as a token of the belief and confidence of worhippers in their divinities, and in their attributes also which the height, strength, and durability of the tree itself and the upward direction of its younger branches are regarded as representing, exactly as the tree was regarded as sacred both by the Etrurians and the Greeks, and the Oak by the Jews and Greeks, and the ancient heathen nations of Gaul and Britain.

The great Oracle of the Yoruba country is Ifa. He is represented chiefly by 16 palm nuts each having from four to 10 or more eyelets on them. Behind each one of these representative nuts are 16 subordinate Divinities. Each one of the whole lot is termed an Odù —which means a chief, a head. This makes the number of Odùs

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altogether 256. Besides these, there are 16 other Odùs connected with each of the 256, and this makes the whole number of Odùs 4,096. Some increase this large number still by an addition of 16 more to each of the last number of Odùs, but the 16 principal ones are those more frequently in requisition.

There is a series of traditional stories, each of which is called a road, a pathway, or a course, and is connected with some particular Odù. Each Odù is supposed to have 1,680 of these stories connected with it, and these, together with those of the other Odùs, every one aspiring to the office of "*A Babalawo*," who is a divining or sacrificing priest, is expected to commit to memory, though scarcely has any one been found to perform the feat. Many learn by heart a very considerable number, rather an appreciable number connected with the principal Odùs. Upon the appearance of an Odù on the divining or consulting bowl, the "Babalawo" thinks of some of the stories attached to it, and from any of them that appears to him to suit the case upon which he is consulted, he delivers his Oracular response, and prescribes the sacrifice that would be accepted.

These, each of which is always represented in a pair, and is spoken of as two, are named thus: Èjì Ogbè, Ọyẹ́kún mejì, Iworì mejì, Edi mejì, Bara mejì, Okàràn mejì, Úrosì mejì, Ọwaràn mejì, Ọsá mejì, Ogundá mejì, Eturẹ́ mejì, Ẹrẹtẹ̀ mejì, Oturupọ́n mejì, Ọ̀ṣẹ̀ mejì, Ofú mejì and Ẹ̀ka mejì. Ejì or mejì means two, double, or a pair.

Ejì Ogbè is regarded the most principal, "*The Dux*," or "*Imperator*" and "*King*," whose appearance on the consulting bowl is always regarded as indicating the communication of a message of very great importance, since earthly sovereigns are not accustomed to come and stand out before their people themselves and set aside for the time being their representatives or deputies except when the communication to be delivered is one of uncommon importance.

Subordinate Odùs are constituted and represented by the conjunction of two principal Odùs at one and the same time upon the consulting and divining bowl, the one on the right and the other on the left, this simultaneous appearance and their conjunction uniting to give them their respective names, *e.g.*, when Ejì Ogbè and Ọyẹ́kún appear together, they are joined together and named Ogbè-Iyẹ̀kún; or if Ejì Ogbè appear with Ògúndá, they are both together named Ogbe-Ògúndá, and so on with all the rest. The first of the two names in combination is always that of the Odù which appears on the left-hand side.

Each nut, or the collection, is commonly described as Ikin or

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Akin, which means a strong one, after they have been, with an elaborate religious performance, set aside for the sacred purpose of divination. The collection is usually topped by an Ikin, called an Odùṣọ́, which is regarded as above being consulted or delivering a message, hence the parable,—

"Akin li a i pà—a kī lu Odùṣọ́."

"An Akin is the one we may strike for divination: we have no right to strike an Oduṣọ."

An "*Àdèlé*," or a "*Watch Akin*," is that which happens not to be taken up with the rest by a consulting priest, when he takes out with one grasp of the palm of his right hand 16 and 1 Odùs from the number of ikins in his bag or from the face of his consulting bowl for consultation and divination. This one, left behind, does the duty of a keeper of the house for both himself and his comrades, till they should be returned to their place again.

Ifa is known by a great many descriptive and attributive names, among which are the following:—"*Òrúnmìlà*" (Heaven is the wise and successful Arbiter or Reconciler; again, Heaven, knows him who will be saved or how to save), "*Olodumare*" (Olódù, Ọmọerè, Olodù, the son of Erè) "*Ikuforiji*" (the Being whom death honours and pays obeisance to), "*Olijeni*" (the Master of the seventh (7th) day festival), "*Ọba Ọlọfa Asùn l'ọla*" (the Ruler who draws blessing and prosperity after Him, and who sleeps in the midst of honours), "*Nīni*," ti ișe "*Ọmọ Olōni*" (the Possessor, who is the Son of the greater Possessor), "*Ẹrintunde*" (laughing comes back to the world, or the Being whose advent into the world has brought back the laugh of joy and gladness), "*Ọwá*" (the Being whose advent into the world from heaven filled men with joyful and thankful surprise which caused many to ask, "Is it Thou who hast come?" "*Iwọ li o wa?*" and the Being from heaven whose constant cry to all in the world is that they should come to Him), "*Ọwọ́, Alarun jarun*" (the Parent who has given birth to five children and has lost none of them by death), "*Olubẹsan*" or "*Olu-li ibi Ẹsan*" (the Chief Avenger of wrongs), "*Edú*" (the Black One, or the Great One whom, as tradition says, troubles have made black), "*Ọpẹ Ifa*" (the palm sacred to Ifa), "*Alajiki—ti ki f'ori ba lẹ f'ẹnikan*" (the Being whom all honour with the daily morning salutation, but who is above paying respect to any other being), "*Abakuwijọ*" (the Being whose power is so great that he calls death to account), "*Baba yẹ ọmọ*" (the Father who reflects honour on his children, or of whom his children may justly be proud).

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"*Okitibiri, a-pa-ọjọ iku dà*" (the Being who, turning himself over as it were in a struggle, postpones for his client the day of death).

Divination is taken by a Babalawo on a highly esteemed broad circular bowl or four cornered fan of a moderate size, which is generally covered with white flour from a dry tree, and upon which he works, and with one of the fingers of the right hand imprints certain signs, representing such Ifa representatives as may be left in the palm of his left hand, after he has attempted with one grasp of the palm of his right hand to take up all the 16, where they were all held. These small signs or marks which would represent a number of efforts, and would be placed one after another horizontally would, according to their number and respective positions, represent one or other of the principal or subordinate Odùs, or Divinities. From that Odù or Divinity, and one or other of the traditional stories connected with it, and with the aid of lot casting and of Opèlè, divination is taken and delivered.

Ifa, to speak more properly, an Odù delivers his responses in and through the channel of Parables, which every Babalawo is expected to be able to interpret. Hence it is commonly said:—

Owe ni Ifa ipa,
Ọmọràn ni imọ̃—
Bi a ba wipe mọ̃—
Ọmọràn a mọ̃—
'Nigbati a ko ba mọ̃,
A ni, ko ṣẹ!

Ifa speaks always in parables,
A wise man is he who understands his speech,
When we say understand it—
The wise man always understands it,
But when we do not understand it—
We say it is of no account or the prediction is not fulfilled.

A Babalawo may sometimes be seen sitting over his Ifa Bowl, attempting to consult the god and divine for an applicant who is present with him, and who, it may be, desires to know whether a business he thinks of embarking in would prosper. He uses his Ikins in the manner described above, and Ejì Ogbè, the prince of all the Olodùs or Odus appears. Upon this he casts lot to find out from him what the business is in regard to which he has been asked to consult him, and what the result of embarking in it would be to the applicant. The business known and its issue foretold, if

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this issue should be favourable, the Babalawo may sometimes be heard delivering himself thus and saying amongst other things with the authority of Ejì Ogbè, of whose appearance he will have informed the humble applicant—

Bi a ba bọ oju,
Bi a ba bọ imu
Isalẹ agbọ̀n ni a ipari rè.

Ada fun Orunmilà nigbati o nlọ gba aṣẹ l'ọwọ Olodumarè; o rubọ. Olodumarè si wa fi aṣẹ fun u. Nigbati gbogbo aiye gbọ pe o ti gba aṣẹ l'ọwọ Olodumare nwon si nwọ tọ̃. Gbogbo eyi ti o wi si nṣẹ. Lati igba na wa ni a nwipe. A Ṣẹ!

"If (when) we wash the face,
If (when) we wash the nose
We are accustomed to finish the operation at the bottom of the chin."

Ifa was consulted for Orunmila on the occasion when he would go to receive authority and power from the Almighty One and he offered the sacrifice prescribed to him. After this the Almighty One gave him authority and power.

When the people of the world learnt that he had received authority and power from the Almighty, all of them began to flock to him, to consult him on their affairs.

It was since then we have been accustomed to say "A ṣẹ!"—"It will be as predicted."

Ọpẹ̀lẹ̀, or Ọpẹ́pẹ́rẹ́, is an Oracle of inferior rank to Ifa, and who is regarded as his constant attendant and is commonly spoken of as his slave. He is always represented by eight flat pieces of wood, or metal, or something else, strung together in two rows of four on each side, placed at equal distances from each other and joined together. The disposition of one or other of these pieces when the whole ensign is thrown and made to spread out upon the ground would represent at once a particular Odù; and one of Ọpẹ̀lẹ̀'s chief duties is to show to the Babalawo what particular Odù he should consult upon a case referred to him.

Ọpẹ̀lẹ̀ is often and frequently thus consulted by Babalawos, who usually carry about them its ensigns, because, consulting it carries with it less labour than, and is not so difficult as the work of consulting the Master, Ifa himself; but this would be on matters of

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minor importance, and its response would be that of a servant for his master, and which is not always absolutely relied upon.

Ọpẹ̀lẹ̀ is expected to be referred to and consulted every morning that a devotee might know whether the day would be for him prosperous or not and, if it should be seen to be a non-prosperous one, what sacrifice he should offer to conciliate the goodwill of his divinity in order that he might convert the day to a prosperous one for him, and also, that he might generally secure the blessing of his guidance and other assistance throughout the day; whilst a Babalawo is expected to ordinarily consult his Ifa every fifth day, which is the close of a week of Ọsẹ́ or worshipping days. Hence the parable runs:—

(1) Oju mọ kĩ mọ ki Awo ma ṣọde wò
Agbẹ́dẹ a gbọn àdá—
(2) Bi oni ti ri, ọla kĩ ri bẹ́, li o mu ki Babalawo mã da Ifa ọrọ́rún.

(1) "There is never a morning when a Babalawo or a consulting Priest does not consult his Ọpẹ̀lẹ̀, as there is never a morning that a blacksmith is not called upon to sharpen a cutlass for a farmer." (2) "The possibility of to-morrow not being like to-day in regard to the events which may transpire in it, is what induces a Babalawo to consult his Ifa and sacrifice to it every fifth day."

There are three grades of priests. As the sacred nuts are given by Babalawos in two sets of sixteen Ikins and one Oduṣọ to applicants, those who receive only the first set, which is called "*The Olori*," or Chief, form one grade, and this is the first. Those who receive both the first and the second, which is called "*The Òrìsà*," or the next in rank, make another, the second grade; and those who have, each one with his right foot in conjunction with those of his own Babalawo's, and any of his fellow or senior Babalawo's with him, resting upon his own and moving in a circle with him, trodden upon his Ifa nuts deposited in a lump of Ẹ̀kọ or Agidi (cornflour pudding), and who are generally spoken of as "Awon ti a tè ni Ifa," or "Those who are trodden together with Ifa nuts," form the third grade. Those of the first grade are entitled to worship their Ifa always, but not to divine with it or suffer it to be so employed. Those of the second grade can both worship their own and divine with it, or suffer it to be thus used; and those two first are spoken of as "*Awo egán*," or "*Ẹlẹgán*"; whilst those of the third class, who have been brought to their position through the services of Olodùs, or chief Babalawos,

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are, besides being entitled both to worship their own Ifa and divine with it, also privileged to eat of any sacrifice that may be offered to or before the "*Igba Odu*," or the calabash or gourd vessel sacred to Odù, a privilege which is denied to those of the first two grades, as it is to any non-Ifa owning man, or, as the eating out of a sacrifice of any kind offered to Ifa and that which has been placed upon it and is called Iṛẹfá, is denied to women generally; and are also known as "Awo Olodù," the Principal Ifa worshippers.

The ceremony on the part of the Babalawo consists, after divining with his Ifa for it, in collecting the palm nuts that he would consecrate, burying them in the solid earth or at the head of a river, or in some other convenient place, three days before the public performance of the giving and receiving service, bruising them, washing them and the candidate also when he is of the second grade, and when he is said to wash the devil away from himself or wash Ifa water, this water having had what are known as Ifa leaves bruised in it, enclosing them in the same kind of leaves, placing the packet on a plate and solemnly depositing it in the palms of the hands of the candidate kneeling before him with closed eyes, after he shall have answered to his name called out the third time, and when he would signify his glad acceptance of the parcel by touching his forehead and breast with it, saying "*May my head, or the divinity of my destiny, or my Creator accept it! My own heart accepts it.*" He will have paid the fees prescribed for every part of the ceremony and furnished victims and other offerings for sacrifice, which, in the case of those of the second grade, are expected to be, in every item, the double of those provided by candidates of the first grade, whilst by all, an observance with feasting is had on the third and on the seventh day respectively of the formal acceptance.

To these belongs the privilege of being led to a stream of water after the performance of the above ceremony, accompanied by their Babalawos and their assistants, to be further washed, in order to a greater purification, and escorted home triumphantly with a parrot's tail tightly tied to each one's forehead as a consecration token, with the praises of Ifa or Orunmila being lustily chanted after them.

There is the ceremony of extinguishing the Odù fire—(Pinọdù, *i.e.*, Pa-ina-odù). Under it a candidate receives upon the open palms of his hands, previously and frequently dipped in consecrated Ifa water, dropping flames from a new lamp lighted with a new wick and held by a Babalawo, and rubs the different parts of his body with

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them, without experiencing any injury. This is accepted as a token of his having become a proof against the fire of sickness, or having gained a victory over it and over bereavement, disappointment, or any other trouble and death also. He is escorted, after his performance, to a stream, led by his Oluwo and followed by the latter's assistant or Ajigbọ̀nà, carrying on his head animal and other sacrifices that have been offered on his behalf, and holding them to it with both hands, they being wrapped in a clean white sheet covered over with both a fine and a coarse mat, and having a rope wound tightly around them. When the parcel is removed from his head and thrown into and deposited in a muddy part of the stream, into which he would descend, his head is held forward and it is washed with water whose droppings are allowed to fall on the bundle, and which the stream would carry away. This is regarded as a token that all his uncleanness and all the ills that might have befallen him are carried away from him.

The Igbadu is a covered calabash, containing four small vessels made from cocoanut shells, cut, each into two pieces in the middle, and which hold besides something unknown to the uninitiated, one a little mud, another a little charcoal, and another a little chalk, and another some camwood, all which are intended to represent certain Divine attributes, and which, with the vessels containing them, represent the four principal Odus—Eji Ogbè, Ọ̀yẹ̀kún meji, Ibara meji, and Edí meji—and this calabash is deposited in a specially and well-prepared wooden box called Àpèrè. The box is regarded as very sacred and as an emblem of Divinity, and is also worshipped. It is never opened, except on very special and important occasions, as when perhaps a serious difference is to be settled, and not without washed hands and often the offering of blood to it, when the opener would, as a mark of reverence, turn his face away from it as he opens it, saying, "Bi ọmọde ba ṣi ìṣà, a yẹ oju fun õru rẹ̀." "If a child opens a boiling pot, he would turn away from the heat." Whatever is offered as a sacrifice to or before the Igbadu is to be eaten at once; no portion of it is to be left to the next day, and none but Olodus, *i.e.*, those who have undergone the trampling ceremony, are to partake of it; whilst the room where it is deposited is considered so sacred that no woman nor any uninitiated man is ever permitted to enter into it, and the door opening into it is generally beautified with chalk and charcoal colouring, giving it a spotted appearance. One who receives his Ifa with trampling is usually received into this room and into the company of waiting and expectant Babalawos

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with much ceremony, after he has been escorted from the Igbodù; and here it is he offers his first homage to Ifa after his initiation.

An Igbodù is a grove where the ceremony of giving Ifa with trampling is performed by the Ọbalodù, or the chief Olodu priest, for those who desire to have it from him. The grove always contains three extemporized partitions, built of young palm branches and the Ọmù shrub. Into the first of these partitions any woman or any uninitiated person may enter, and here such persons are expected to tarry as spectators or waiters. Into the second, Babalawos, and all Olodus, all those who have received Ifa by trampling are privileged to enter and remain. The third is entered only by the Obalodù, the ceremony-performing priest, who would take the candidate with him into it and who also would have brought his Igbadu into it previously under cover of night to preserve the sacred object from public gaze, and there perform his ceremony with the aid of such fellow Olodu priests as he might have seen fit to invite.

Ifa lays claim to every plant in creation as sacred to his worship, and thus it is come to pass that upon consultation by a Babalawo, one Odu will advise the use of the leaves of certain plants; another will prescribe one of these, or others totally different along with them, and so other Odus. But the plants whose leaves are always in demand, and which are considered as specially sacred to Eji Õgbè, the Prince of all Odus, are Tẹ̀tẹ̀, Ọdúndún, Rẹnrẹn, Gbẹgi, the Oriji herb, Ipoyá, ọmìnì, and the Iwerejeje plant; but some of these are known and described by sacred names on occasions of, or for purposes of divination. Then the leaves of the Tẹ̀tẹ̀ herb become Ewe atètèdaiyé, *i.e.*, the herb that betokens our seniority in our entrance into the world; Rẹnrẹn becomes Ewe tútù, the herb of pacification; and Gbẹgi become Ewe Agidimogbọyin.

Ifa or Ọrunmila is believed to know all and everything and is therefore consulted upon every circumstance of life, that of sickness not excluded; and he, through a consulting Babalawo, always prescribes medicines for the diseases referred to him; and for this, there is a foundation in the circumstance that in the traditional sayings of every Olodù, or Odù, mention is always to be found made of sufferers from this or that form of disease and of the remedies that cured them effectually. Hence every Babalawo is necessarily a physician in his own way, and he is often resorted to by professional practitioners for consultation with Ifa for aid to them in the exercise of their art.

Ẹ̀la is evidently one of the many attributive names by which Ifa

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is described, and a very principal one among them. It is a contraction of the term "*Ọrun mila*," and is intended to represent the Divinity to all its worshippers and devotees, principally as a Saviour and Deliverer, and one that is strong and mighty and is unconquerable by Death itself, so that all that look to him for help in trouble and against any other evil, death not excluded, will find that their confidence has not been misplaced; and this, although the name is often used as if it represented a *separate* and *distinct* Divine personality, and although a separate and distinct representative ensign made of pieces of ivory, carrying four eyelets each and corresponding in number to the Ifa palm nuts (Ikin) which, with one Oduso, are 17, are chosen and employed to represent him.

He is sometimes described in songs of praises and in other speeches as "*Ẹ̀la ọmọ Ọ̀ṣ́in*," Ẹ̀là the child of "*Ọ̀ṣ́in*" (the Ruler); sometimes as *Ẹ̀la ọmọ Oyigí* (*Oyigiyìgì*) *Ọta omi*," Ẹ̀là the offspring of a stone, *i.e.*, the hard stone from the bed of a spring of water (an emblem of great strength), a quality which believed in, enables devotees to identify themselves with him, and regard themselves free in consequence from death, or protected against it, and say also when they utter the above praise, "*Awa di Òyígíyigì, a kì o ku mọ*," "We are ourselves become Òyígíyĩgì, that is the stone which gave birth to Ẹ̀lâ, and will no longer die," or, at other times to say, "*Ẹ̀là rọ̀ a ki o ku mọ—Okribiti, Ẹ̀la rọ̀* (sọ̀kălẹ̀) *Orukọ Ifa*," "Ẹ̀là has descended to the earth—we shall die no more—and this is Ifa's name." Sometimes he is described as "Ẹniti ngba ni là," "He is the one that saves us," and devotees may be heard saying sometimes of a friend, "Nwọn ṣe ẹbọ Ẹ̀là fun u," "We have made the Ẹ̀là sacrifice, or the delivery or salvation sacrifice for him." One of them may be heard thus to confess his ignorance of the saving power of Ẹ̀là, "*Emi ko tete mọ̀ pe, Ẹ̀là ni nwọn mbọ là ni ile wa*," "I did not know in time that it is the Ẹ̀là that is worshipped and sacrificed to in our family for salvation," or "Ko t'ina, ko to rò, bẹ̃ni on (Ẹ̀là) nĩ gba ni là ni Ife," "He is of no account, he is too small to be thought of, yet he is the one who is accustomed to deliver us from trouble in Ifẹ̀," or the world, for which the term Ifẹ is often employed. And at other times he may be heard spoken of as "Ọba-à mọ̀là," "The king, by knowing whom, we have come to salvation."

Ẹ̀la holds a very important place in the Ifa system of worship. It is to be found in connection with each of the 256 Odus of the system, a circumstance that suggests that the system aims especially at impressing its followers with the idea that Ifa is a Saviour and

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Deliverer at all times and under all circumstances. It, besides the Odù Ọṣẹturá, is always first humbly and reverently invoked and its favour sought for acceptance whenever Ifa is to be worshipped with a sacrifice, and is thus addressed—

Ẹ̀là! Ọmọ Ọṣin, mo wari o! or, Ẹla meji, mo wari o!
or, Ẹlà! mo yin abọrú

Ẹla! mo yin abọyè—
Ẹ̀là! mo yin abọṣiṣẹ.

O Thou Ẹ̀là, Son of the Ruler,
I humble myself before thee!

or, O Ẹlà! I praise the sacrificing that meets with acceptance or opens the way to blessing,
O Ẹlà! I praise the sacrificing that brings life—
O Ẹlà! I praise the sacrificing act that accompanies or precedes labour;

and it is the divinity to which harvest offerings are always presented by worshippers—especially in the yam season, before any portion of the harvest is partaken of, and when they are said to split the Ela yam (*Pa iṣu Ẹ̀là*, or Pa Ẹ̀là), and when also the following song may be heard sung lustily to Ẹla's praises, and Orunmilà is said to come and partake of the yam with them—

Ẹlà Pokẹ!
Ẹni eṣi si wa ṣorọ ọdun,
Ọdun kò, mo wà ṣọdun, Iroko oko!
Iroko oko! Odun oni si kò. Ẹ̀là Pokẹ!
Ẹlà has reappeared!

Our friend of the past year has come again to observe the yearly festival—

The anniversary has returned. I am come O Irokò (Lord) of the cultivated field to observe the yearly festival.

O Irokò of the cultivated field, this day's anniversary has returned.
Ẹlà has reappeared!

Baba wa okìrìkìṣì!
Ọmọ at' ọrun rọ̀ s'aiye
Ti o ko wa dà s'aiye
Baba wa okìrìkìsì!

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O Thou, our worthy Father!
The Son who hast descended from heaven to this earth
Who hast placed us in the world—
O Thou our worthy Father!

The ceremony connected with the giving of Ẹ̀là to one applying for it is identical with that with which Ifa is given to those who come under the first two grades of recipients who are generally spoken of as Awo Ẹ̀gán, and drawbacks and privileges are like those to be found in both cases.

The male sex is the sex which particularly gives itself to Ifa worship. There are, however, times when divinations may recommend and prescribe that worship to a woman. Whenever this should be the case, a woman would receive from a Babalawo only one Ikin or Consecrated Palm nut called *Ekó*, which she would carry about her body for her protection, and whenever divination should recommend and prescribe to her sacrifice to Ifa, she would, for the time being, hand over her *Ekó* either to her husband or to her brother, or any other male relative according to prescription, who would include it in his own Ikins for the purpose of the worship and sacrifice in which she would participate.

There is a particular Palm tree that is known by the name of Ọ̀pẹ̀-Ifa, or the Ifa Palm tree, because that class of palm trees commonly yield nuts carrying four eyelets each, and these are the only nuts employed in Ifa worship, and are devoted to it. They are regarded sacred to this purpose, and are often spoken of as Ekurọ-aijẹ, *i.e.* "Nuts that are not to be eaten"; and if nuts carrying two or three eyelets should be found among these yielded by such trees, these would be called Ekurọ-Ọ̀ṣọ̀ṣà—*i.e.*, the palm nuts whose beauty has deserted them through the loss of one or more eyelets —ọ̀ṣọ-ṣá.

The cost of supplying Ifa to a candidate varies from £5 to £150, and more, according to the circumstances of the individual; and often children are pawned, slaves sold, and other sacrifices made to raise the funds necessary to cover the expense of the elaborate ceremony.

There are other oracles; but some of these are local, and are resorted to only by particular tribes or townships, *e.g.*, there is the Ọ̀rọ̀ Ilarè of Ijesha land, which is said to come down from heaven to Ilarè or Aiye, or the world, once a year, to be waited upon by those who may need his Oracular assistance, and whose temporary residence is

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always a grove, where he is always attended by an Àwòrò Ọrọ Ilarẹ̀ till his return to heaven. The Aworo would deliver his responses to inquirers. His advent is always looked forward to with joy, and the public roads and thoroughfares of a town are always specially cleaned and put in order for his reception, whilst the number of men and women repairing to the grove for his Oracular assistance is always large. There are such divinities as Ọ̀ṣun, Yemaja, Ọ̀ṣọ́sì and Ẹ̀lẹ́gbara, &c., which are often consulted, mostly by women, using sixteen cowries for their consulting signs; and among some of the tribes, Ẹ̀lúkú and Agẹ́mọ, which also are regarded as possessing much predicting capacity, and are often resorted to, as their predictions are always esteemed infallible.

An Ọ̀gbẹ̀rì or Ìgbẹ̀rì is one that is not initiated into the mysteries of the religion with which a Babalawo, from the nature of his office, is expected to be fully acquainted.

The Cola-fruit holds a very important and sacred place. Both it and the tree bearing it are considered sacred. Every Orisha is worshipped with the fruit, whilst a woodman's axe should on no account be laid upon the tree. Hence the parable which is commonly heard, "*Orișa ti o yan igi obi li ayo, on li o da awon iyokun li Ẹ̀ru—A ki iyọ Ida ba Orișa ja; Ayaşebi Ekẹ́ ati Ẹ̀yọ̀ ni i bẹ igi obi danu o.*" "The divinity that has chosen the Cola tree as his specially valued and loved representative has made all other trees subservient to it. We are not accustomed to draw out the sword to fight a divinity with; and no one but a liar and a perfidious person ever thinks of cutting down and throwing away a Cola tree." The fruit is very commonly and extensively employed by men and women all over the country for purposes of consultation and divination, the majority using it as if they sought divination through it, each one, from his own god, or as if it were a divinity by itself, whilst Babalawos and other intelligent persons use it with the idea that divination is being sought for from Ifa with it. It is commonly split into halves and thrown upon the ground, as is always done with Ọpẹlẹ, the position assumed then by the pieces, either that in which their faces are turned upwards or that in which they are turned downwards, or that in which some look upwards and others look downwards at one and the same time, being understood to declare either good or evil, as the case may be, care being commonly taken previously to precede this ceremony with a libation of pure and clean water poured out upon the ground in humble worship of the god Earth, the parent, after a sort, of all mankind, as from it we have all been brought into

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existence, and upon whose surface the split Cola pieces would be thrown for divination.

It is sometimes described in praises by the honourable title of "*Baba, abẹ̀bẹ̀ ẹ̀ràn ku si ẹ̀ràn, Ọ̀ràn ọlọ́ran li obi ĩ ku si.*" "Our father who intercedes in another person's matter till he dies over it; Cola is commonly put to death over other people's affair," which is evidently intended for the divinity which it represents, and which refers to his work of intercession between parties at variance with each other with a view to peace making, and that death over it which it entails on him, and which, together with a further division into plugs and into smaller pieces, and an immediate mutual consumption of them by the parties interested in the peace making, and their respective friends, confirm and seal the peace made. It is this circumstance that has given rise to the phrase so often used, "A ti pa obi si ẹ̀ràn na." "We have split Cola over the matter," which is equal to saying, "We have settled the matter."

It, or the god it represents, is often spoken of as one whose entreaty or intercession is on no account to be refused; hence the saying, "Ẹ̀bọ́ra," or "Ẹ̀bọ́-ara kĩ kọ́ ẹ̀bẹ̀ fun obi." "The gods are not in the habit of refusing to listen and accept entreaty or intercession from the Cola nut;" and it is this that has suggested the presentation of Cola nuts amongst other things by a suitor for the hand of a young woman in marriage to the parents, urging with them his suit, his desire and request for a betrothal, and his prayer for their acceptance of it.

There are among the heathens those in our country who profess to exercise the office of speaking with the dead, and of being mediums of communications from them to the living, and who are known as "Awon Abokusọ̀rọ̀"—speakers with the dead—and whose deliverances have generally been found to be true. But the system does not appear to be so elaborate with them as it is with their fellow-professors in Europe and America.

There is a great variety of sacrifice, and each prescribed sacrifice or each set of such a sacrifice takes its name generally from the object for which it is offered. Among them may be mentioned the following:—*The Redemption sacrifice; the exchange sacrifice; the wealth and the longevity sacrifice; the sacrifice for recovery from illness and for preventing death; those for the possession of strength, and for the avoiding of losses of any kind; those for protection against being a cause of trouble to one's own self; those against being*

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successfully plotted against; those against a fire accident, and for the removal of drought or the prevention or the cessation of a flood of rain; that for attaining to some title and office of dignity, and that for securing a long enjoyment of the office, especially if he who seeks it had been told beforehand through Ifa divination that his enjoyment of it would not be long; that for securing the sign or mark on one's forehead that would assure him of his safety from the approach and touch of the angel of Death, and of victory and triumph over difficulty and trouble; and that for acquiring superiority to others, &c.

These various sacrifices mentioned, being atonement sacrifices, suggest the existence originally in the mind of the Pagan Yoruban that sin and the anger of an offended god are the cause of the various ills incidental to human life: that blessings are to be had only from him and according to his will, and that for this he is to be propitiated by means of sacrifice and offering, since he who desires them is a sinner.

Animals for sacrifice range from reptiles to man. Meat-offering includes all variety of food and drink; but for every particular sacrifice a certain victim is prescribed, and sometimes the same animal may be prescribed for more than one sacrifice; and so it is with meat and drink offerings, *e.g.*, against death in sickness, a *sheep*, and for longevity, *a dog;* for strength to the body, a *ram sheep* and a *cock;* against losses, *a basket of eggs*, most of which are usually employed with leaves sacred to Ifa; against being lied upon, *domestic pigeons* and *palm nut shells;* against trouble and misfortune, *rats;* against drought, *small crabs* from which water drops each time each makes a leap; against a flood from incessant rain or for confusion of a plot, *snails;* against a fire accident, *a wild hog* or a *duck* with different kinds of Ifa leaves; for victory in a time of war *a ram sheep* and an *old cock together;* against the death of a very young child, *a hen* that had had chickens; to be permitted to come to a title and for the destruction of a plot, *a wild hog.*

They are sometimes burnt with fire, and in some cases, like that of the Irapada or Redemption offering, the whole victim is roasted with fire within doors till it is reduced to ashes, and after this water is thrown into the hearth from behind it to extinguish the fire, and all the ashes and fire-brands are collected and taken outside, and as with all other offerings and gifts to Eṣu or Satan are placed on a public road for him. Sometimes they are taken out of the town alive and across a river, if any is near at hand, and left in the bush whereto

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they are supposed to bear the sin, guilt and trouble of the offerer which had been transferred to them. Sometimes they are thrown into a river to be carried away by it with the offerer's sin and sorrow. Sometimes they are buried in the earth, with or without a chain attached to them, and a portion of it standing on the surface, the subject for whom the sacrifice is offered making a sleeping place of the spot to assure himself of the protection and security sought for and alleged to be given, and which the chain symbolizes. Sometimes they are placed at the edge of a river. Sometimes as in the case of Ẹbọ Abá, *i.e.*, a purpose sacrifice or a sacrifice to the divinity of purpose or that divinity which enables one to make a purpose, and Ẹbọ Aṣẹ, *i.e.*, an accomplishment sacrifice or a sacrifice to the divinity of will that accomplishes his purpose or enables a man to accomplish a purpose, the blood of a sacrificed victim is sprinkled first upon the right lintel, which is sacred to the Alabá, and then upon the left lintel, which is sacred to the Alaṣè, and after this, upon the surface of the door hanging on one of them, some of the feathers of a fowl or other winged animal offered being affixed at the same time to each blood-sprinkled surface, whilst the flesh of the victim is either roasted or boiled and eaten altogether quickly and in a standing posture. Sometimes the sacrifice is taken at once outside and left on a street or some highway, as in the case of another Ẹbọ Irapa or Irapada, a redemption or exchange offering, which consists of a 16-wicked lamp lighted, and which is usually employed in the case of the serious illness of an important person to change his fate and deliver him from death. Sometimes they are thrown from one priest to another, they standing together in a straight line, as in the case of Ẹbọ Agbesọ́ or the heave offering, which is not to be suffered to fall to the ground during the performance of the exercise, the object sought being to secure the offerer against the triumph of his enemies over him. Sometimes they are living creatures, left to be devoured by other living creatures, as in the case of a sacrifice in which seven very young chickens are usually employed, and taken out to some public highway and left there to be devoured by hawks, the death of the individual for whom it is offered being supposed to be substituted for and averted by that of the chickens. Sometimes the head of the offerer is streaked with the blood of the victim, exhibiting him as one for whom an atonement has been made, and assuring him thereby of his acceptance, as in the case of the Ẹbọ isami, or the sign-marking sacrifice, when

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some of the blood of the victim is mixed by the Babalawo and hi assistant, the Ajigbọna, with both mud and some bruised sacred or Ifa leaves in a sacred grove from which the preparation is usually brought out ceremoniously for those waiting for it, to be employed in marking their foreheads in order to secure to them escape from death and assure them of it. These may be heard saying and singing amongst themselves, "Edu, *i.e.*, (Orunmila) ti sa ni li amì a ko ku mọ, Iwerejeje ni Ẹdu fi sami." "Edu, or Orunmila, has marked us we shall not die again. It is the leaf of the Iwerejeje herb he has employed in doing it." Sometimes an offerer's hands are laid upon the victim before it is slain for the transferring of his guilt and death to it, and at other times the offerer touches his head with that of the victim or the body of the victim is passed over and made to touch every part of the body of him for whom it is offered, as is the case with the "Ẹbọ iparọ ori," the sacrifice for exchanging or substituting one's head, fate, or destiny with that of another. Sometimes sacrifices are eaten after they have been offered up, and sometimes they are not to be eaten, especially when they are offered for one in a dangerous illness. Sometimes in a case like this the sacrifice is buried in the earth with the bedding and covering of the sick person, and his body is washed over the spot if he is able to stand it. Some, like Ẹbọ Osú, are to be eaten at once, as soon as they have been offered up, as is the case with either the Aba or the Aṣẹ sacrifice, and unlike it, are not to be suffered to remain to the next day. Some are attached to a light fan suspended upon a pole firmly planted in the ground and left to be waved about by the wind. Some victims are paraded through a town, city, or village for whose welfare they are to be sacrificed, and sometimes they are dragged about also on the solid ground before they are sacrificed in order that they might carry away with them the sin, guilt, and death of the inhabitants, and other troubles to which it may be they are liable.

Human sacrifices have been practised by all the different sections of the Yoruba nation and other West African tribes, especially at periodical festivals and on other great occasions; but till the recent conquest of the kingdom of Dahomey (on the East of the Yoruba kingdom) by France, and the unresisted and bloodless conquest and annexation of the great and powerful kingdom of Ashantee (on the South-east) by Great Britain, they were very common and abundant in them in connection with their respective ancestral worship.

The king of Dahomey is reported, as far back as 1664, to have

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built a royal dead-house, the mortar of which had been mixed with human blood.

In Yoruba the human victim chosen for sacrifice, and who may be either a free-born or a slave, a person of noble or wealthy parentage, or one of humble birth, is, after he has been chosen and marked out for the purpose, called an Olùwọ̀.

He is always well fed and nourished and supplied with whatever he should desire during the period of his confinement. When the occasion arrives for him to be sacrificed and offered up, he is commonly led about and paraded through the streets of the town or city of the Sovereign who would sacrifice him for the well-being of his government and of every family and individual under it, in order that he might carry off the sin, guilt, misfortune and death of all without exception. Ashes and chalk would be employed to hide his identity by the one being freely thrown over his head, and his face painted with the latter, whilst individuals would often rush out of their houses to lay their hands upon him that they might thus transfer to him their sin, guilt trouble, and death. This parading done, he is taken through a temporary sacred shed of palm and other tree branches, and especially of the former, the Igbodu and to its first division, where many persons might follow him, and through a second where only the chiefs and other very important persons might escort and accompany him to, and to a third where only the Babalawo and his official assistant, the Ajigbọna, are permitted to enter with him. Here, after he himself has given out or started his last song, which is to be taken up by the large assembly of people who will have been waiting to hear his last word or his last groan, his head is taken off and his blood offered to the gods. The announcement of his last word or his last groan heard and taken up by the people, would be a signal for joy, gladness and thanksgiving, and for drum beating and dancing, as an expression of their gratification because their sacrifice has been accepted, the divine wrath is appeased, and the prospect of prosperity or increased prosperity assured.

A sheep or any other brute creature chosen as a victim for a propitiatory sacrifice for one who desires to come to a great and important public office, and in respect of whom Ifa had predicted a short enjoyment of the position and an early removal from it to make room for another person who would enjoy it longer, would be similarly paraded through the town that it might be loaded with the ill-will which his enemies are believed to entertain against and wish the offerer and with the death pronounced against him, and when

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after this it is being led back into his house it would be clubbed to death at once at the entrance by some specially appointed persons.

Human sacrifices are generally offered in Yoruba and in many other parts of Africa by Sovereigns, especially when an expiation that is to be made is of a general character, and in the interests of their respective governments and peoples; and this is always, in Yoruba, according to the specific prescription and after the instigation of priests who, to reconcile them to the fearful and revolting deed and prevent to them qualms of conscience over it, usually seek by their language to magnify before them their great power and the importance of their office, and impress them with the idea that no one would or could call them into account for this use which they would make of a fellow man's life.

Sacrifices are offered for and by private individuals, individual families, a particular quarter of a town or city, or the whole of it in the king's name. When a sacrifice is a family one it is commonly spoken of as Ẹbọ Agbole—a household sacrifice. When it is for a particular quarter of a town or city it is spoken of as Ẹbọ igboro—or a district sacrifice; and when it is for a whole town or city it is generally spoken of as Ẹbọ Agbálú—a sacrifice for sweeping away evil from the town, or Ẹbọ Ọba, or the King's sacrifice.

These sacrifices which are offered by heathens to their Orishas, who occupy the place both of subordinate deities and mediators, are believed to be taken to the Great One by a spirit whom they denominate "Agberù," the carrier, whose special business it is to take them to him and wait upon him with them. He goes by the title, "*Agberù ti igbé ẹbọ rè ọrún*," "Agberù who carries people's sacrifices to heaven." The basket in which he is supposed to carry the sacrifices to heaven is lined with leaves sacred to Ifa, as for instance "*Ewe tótò*," the tótò leaf, "which is symbolical of the wish and prayer of the offerer that he may be equal to those who are before and above him;" the "*Ewe Ẹ̀wùrújù*," the Ẹ̀wùrújù leaf, which is symbolical of his wish that he may surpass others; "*Ewè Igbèrèsì*," the Igbèrèsì leaf, which is generally spoken of and described as the Igbèrèsì leaf which accompanies a sacrifice to heaven. "Ewé Igbèrèsì ti i sín ẹbọ *lọ si ọrun*," and the *Yéyè leaf*, which is often described as "*Ewe Yéyè ti ijẹ ki ire yà si ile ẹni*," "the Yéyè leaf that brings blessing into our houses."

The Yoruban names of priests are the following:—The Babalawo, the Oluwo, the Ajigbọna, the Aworò, the Odọfin, the Aró, the Asarepawó, the Asawó, the Apètèbí, who is sometimes called Ayawo.

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The Babalawo is the president of the mysteries and the rites and ceremonies of religion and worship, and he is also the Sacrificing Priest, the teacher of the religion, and the Diviner by consulting the Sacred Oracles. He is always specially and in a formal manner consecrated to his office when he is to serve a king as his Consulting Priest.

An Oluwó in this class is a senior and chief of the class of Babalawos, whose directions the rest are all expected to obey; but often may a man be heard speaking of a Babalawo from whom he has received his Ifa as his Oluwo.

An Ajigbọna is a chief assistant both to the Oluwo and any of the other Babalawos, and on an occasion of a great sacrifice, *e.g.*, that of offering a human being, he is the only one, with an Aworò, appointed to accompany the Babalawo who would perform the sacrifice to what may be described as the most sacred place in the Igbodù, and which is the place both of slaughter and of offering.

An Ọdọ́fín is a titled Babalawo next in rank to the Oluwó, and he is privileged to act for him in his absence.

An Aró is the third Babalawo in rank, and he is entitled to act for both the Oluwó and the Ọdọ́fín in their absence.

An Asaré pawó is a messenger whose office it is to call upon the Babalawos at their respective residences and invite them to a meeting whenever an appointment has been made, and he and all who bear the title with him are those who are also expected to prepare and extemporise an Igbodù whenever the Babalawos ask for one.

An Asawó is another attendant upon a Babalawo, and a special assistant to an Asaré pawó.

An Apẹ̀tẹ̀bi or Esú or Ayawò is a woman who is regarded as the wife of Ọrunmila himself, and who may in reality be either a Babalawo's wife or the wife of any one for whom a sacrifice is to be offered and who is always expected to give assistance at it.

An Aworò is a chief minister devoted to a particular Orisha, and to him is assigned the difficult and revolting task of putting to death a fellow human being devoted to sacrifice.

A candidate for the office and dignity of a Babalawo is expected to be a pupil to a Babalawo well known for his wide knowledge of the mysteries of the religion and his skill in the exercise of it, and especially in the art of divination, for at least three years and learn the profession from him. But pupils who are ambitious of being much superior to their fellows of the same profession sometimes elect

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to continue their pupilage and apprenticeship to four, five, six, and even seven years.

As the doctrines and practice of the profession are not committed to writing, the teacher only employs oral teaching, reproducing from his memory from time to time such things as the pupil should learn and commit also to memory himself; and his witnessing of his teacher's performances frequently and assisting him at them are also expected to promote his education.

The course is divided into three parts covering the three years of ordinary pupilage. In the first year the candidate learns the names of all the Olodus and Odus,—the signs representing each of them and testifies by practice his mastery of them. In the second year he learns the one thousand and one traditions connected with the Olodùs and Odùs and which are said to be so many that there has scarcely been a Babalawo found who has learnt and can recite the whole of them; but there are those who have learnt and committed to memory a much greater number of them than others have done, and who then can make a wider use of the consulting bowl. In the third year the candidate learns the method and use of lot casting and in connection with it assists at the consulting bowl.

A Babalawo elected and appointed to wait upon a king always as his Babalawo who is to consult Ifa for him is always one who has distinguished himself above others by his superior knowledge of the traditions and his skill in using them and in the art of consulting the oracle Ifa. His term of pupilage must have exceeded three years, and he is generally formally set apart for this his very important and responsible office and the dignity connected with it by other Babalawos at a special meeting held for the purpose when they would amongst other ceremonies unitedly place on his head some leaves sacred to Ifa, to signify to him and to others his elevation to the office.

His specially appointed assistants are the Ọlọwọ Ọtùn Awó, the right hand Babalawo, otherwise named Orisà; the Ọlọwọ Osì Awó, the left hand Babalawo, otherwise named the Osopo; and the Ọlọpọn ekeji awo, or the second consulting bowl Babalawo, each of whom has his own Ajigbọna, who is sometimes called Lewẹrẹ.

His ensign of office consists of a string of beads of various colours worn always round his left wrist; a cow's or bullock's tail which he always carries about with him; and a staff which is sometimes an Ọpa Osú, *i.e.*, a staff sacred to Ofu; at other times an Ọpa Orẹrẹre,

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the Orẹrẹre staff, and at other times an Ọpa Osóròrò, or the Osóròrò staff.

The office is supported from regularly prescribed consulting and divining fees which are sometimes and indeed often exceeded on account of what is thought to be the superior financial position of an applicant for consultation of Ifa; the sacrifices and offerings made to the gods; and gifts from those whom they serve which these account it a duty and a privilege to make to them, especially at stated festivals.

The moral system of Yoruba heathenism teaches reverence to the gods, which is to show itself in, amongst other things, a daily early morning worship to them before their images before any business is done, the exercise of faith in them and their guidance and other assistances by consulting them on all important matters; respect and reverence for age and for all authority; filial regard and reverence for and obedience to parents on the part of children always, and care and concern for them under the infirmities of sickness and old age, and in times of necessity produced by other circumstances; a great regard for marriage and the perpetuity of the bond, submission to their husbands on the part of wives, and care and protection on the part of husbands; the exercise of the duties of hospitality to all, and especially to strangers; fidelity to friendship under all circumstances; chastity, truthfulness in speech, honesty, kindness, and amongst some tribes courage also; whilst under its influence murder and theft, and sometimes the practice of witchcraft, are punished with death; adultery and fornication with a severe social disgrace and fines and a selling into slavery, and, where the honour of a king's wife is concerned, with death sometimes; suicide, with a dishonoured burial; and neglect and indifference to pay a debt, and insolvency, with much social dishonour; and it discountenances, amongst other things, pride and vanity and extravagance.

Among these may be reckoned revenge and retaliation, hatred, jealousy, malice, ill-will, worldliness, anger and wrath and selfishness, some of which have contributed to supply a basis for the system of slavery and the slave trade, and for the life of Polygamy which have ruled the country for centuries, and for the very long incessant inter-tribal warfares which have ruined it.

The motives for virtue are a belief in a retributive providence, either for good or for evil; the fear of social disgrace and of punish-

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ment also, which would fall not only upon an individual wrong and evil doer, but upon his relatives and other connections also; the prospect of a long life on earth, desire for prosperity, and dread of the anger of the gods and of punishment from them.

It teaches that the soul of man is not liable to death, and that after the death of the body, which results from its quitting it, it hovers about the earth for some time, and after this departs into the world of spirits above. Hence the following parable referring to the death of a Babalawo, and which is applicable to other persons also who have died:—"*Awo ki i ku:—Awo lọ si Itunlà. Itunlà ni ile Awo.*" "*Awo-or* a Babalawo does never die; he goes to Itunla (the world where men live again after death). Itunla is an Awo's home."

The spirits of all the dead go after death to "*Ọrun*," the heavens or the world above. It is divided into two parts. One part is commonly called "*Isalu Ọrun*" or as a mark of excellence; "*Ọrun*" merely, or "*Ọrun Afẹfẹ rere*," the heaven of sweet air, or "*Ọrun Alafia*," the heaven of peace and happiness, where the souls of all the good from this world are admitted and live after death; and another part is called Ọrun Apandi, the world of potsherds, where the spirits of the wicked here pass to and live in after death as a heap of refuse and rubbish, a mass of God-rejected souls—and who are treated there as potsherds are here where they are commonly flung to a dunghill. Sometimes this world is described as *Ọrun ìhárihá*, the heaven of the dry leaves, covering an ear of corn, or the heaven where the spirits that go there are treated as such leaves generally are here by being thrown into the fire, and it is also thus described, "*Ọrun ihariha, ibi ti Ọrùn ati iná pade ti nwon nhó yè*," "the heaven of the Ihariha, where both the sun and fire meet together, and where the roar of their united flames and heat is like the shout of a great multitude."

The spirit of a good dead returns from the spirit world to be again born into this world as had been the case with it before and into the family of which it had been before death a visible part. Hence it is that after a child's birth and when a name would be given to it a Babalawo is consulted by the parents that they might know whether or not the child who is a departed one that has returned to them has come through the father's or the mother's line, that the family might know with what line they would formally connect it by the name that would be given to it. This accounts for

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such names as these given to children :—" *Yèyé-tunde* "—" Our mother has returned to us ; " and " *Babatunde* "—" Our father has returned to us." This transmigration is spoken of as " Yiyà "—or the shooting forth of a branch.

There is some faint notion of a judgment after death, as may be inferred from the following occasional remarks of Yorubans, smarting under a sense of wrong and of their inability to revenge it—

" Ohun ti o ṣe mi yi, ati emi ati iwọ ni i ro o niwaju ẹni ti o ri wa."

" As to this thing or this wrong which you have done me, I say, both yourself and myself will have to relate it to and before Him (God) who sees us."

" Nigbati emi ba ku, ati emi ati iwọ ni ilọ ro o niwaju Ọlọrun."

" When I die, both you and myself will have to relate it (our case) or (the alleged wrong) before God."

"*Ohun gbogbo ti a ṣe li Aiyé a fẹrẹ dé idenà ọrùn* (oju ibodé ọrun) ka gbogbo

" With regard to what we do in this world we shall soon come to the entrance gate to the other world where we shall have to give an account of them all."

Ignorance of letters has prevented the teaching of this system being embodied in a book for the followers of Yoruba heathenism : but it has been committed to the care of oral tradition for which the people's well-exercised and strong memories afford a great help, parental teaching, the influence of the illustration afforded by the punishment awarded to evil and wrong doers, and the very many parables that enter largely into the language of the country and which have become in consequence of this an important vehicle of instruction, and the example of elder before younger people.

It cannot be justly and truly said that this idea of a hereafter has had any influence upon the people. It is not that it particularly influences their conduct in life. But very imperfect though it be, yet it certainly witnesses against those of them who riot in wickedness, injury, wrong and unkindness to their neighbours.

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Extract from *Astrological Geomancy in Africa*, by Professor J. A. Abayomi Cole :—

In those early days of the world's history, when the gods associated with men and rendered them valiant help in all their struggles for

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existence, sacrifices were offered unto them. At these offerings they became so delighted that they came down from heaven in such great numbers that it was not possible to obtain sufficient meat to distribute amongst them.

Having cultivated a taste for flesh, and the worshippers not being able to supply all they demanded, the gods were therefore obliged to resort to various pursuits so that they might obtain food.

Ifa, the God of Divination, took to fishing.

On a certain day Ifa returned from the sea hungry and exhausted, having caught no fish. He thereupon consulted the god Elegba (the devil) what to do.

Elegba, in reply, said that there was near the forest a farm belonging to Orunga, the son of the goddess (Yemaja). It was planted by Odudura, the wife of Obatala (Heaven). It bore only sixteen nuts, and if Ifa can succeed to obtain the sixteen palm nuts from Orunga—who now owns the lands—he would, with them, teach him the art of divination, by which food will be secured for the gods without resorting to labour; for every one wishing to consult the Oracles will pay a goat, and knowing the anxiety of mankind to pry into the future, he was sure that the gods would thereby have more flesh than they would need, stipulating at the same time that the first choice of all such should be his.

Ifa at once proceeded to the farm of Orunga. He bargained for the sixteen palm nuts, promising in return for them to teach Orunga how to forecast the future, assuring him that by this knowledge he will become very rich, and at the same time be of great service to mankind.

Orunga went and consulted his wife, Orisabi, who agreed that they would part with the palm nuts, if by so doing they would become both rich and useful. Both of them set out to get the nuts, which they collected by the aid of monkeys. All, sixteen in number, were wrapped in a bundle of clothes, and Orisabi tied the bundle on her back in the manner in which babies are generally carried, and she with her husband took them to Ifa.

Ifa received and took them to Elegba, who taught him, as he promised, the art of divination; Ifa in turn taught it to Orunga, who thus became the first Baba-alawo (*i.e.*, Father of Mysteries).

Hence in all geomantic operations the Baba-alawoes use the common formula:

Orunga ajuba oh !—*i.e.*, Orunga, I respect thee!
Orisabi ajubi oh !—*i.e.*, Orisabi, I respect thee!

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This accounts for the sixteen palm nuts used in Yoruba divination—all corresponding to the twelve houses of the heavens + two geomantic witnesses + one geomantic judge + one grand judge obtained by the permutation of the judge, the fifteenth figure, with the figure of the first house, all equal to sixteen figures.

There are various methods of divination, either with sixteen stones taken from the stomach of an alligator, used largely by tribes in the interior of the Colony of Sierra Leone, or with sixteen ordinary stones, beans, palm nuts, or cowries.

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